NOV 19 1957

JESUS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

BY

HEINRICH WEINEL, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA

AND

ALBAN G. WIDGERY, M.A.

FORMERLY BURNEY PRIZEMAN AND BURNEY STUDENT, CAMBRIDGE
AND STUDENT AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF JENA AND PARIS

No longer property of the Dayton Public Library

LIBRARY OF
United Theological Seminary
BT
198
.W45 41,580

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

1914

Printed by

MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

PREFACE

THE present volume is based on Dr. Weinel's *Jesus im 19. Jahrhundert* which has already had an exceptionally large circulation. The whole has been revised and brought up to date, and its scope has been widened by the consideration of English, American, and French life and thought, and of one Italian thinker, Mazzini. It has now, therefore, a reference to almost the whole sphere of western civilisation. The plan of the volume is largely, and what is best in it entirely, due to Dr. Weinel. The English form—often an adaptation—given to the revised and enlarged German original is due to me, as is also the Introduction, and, with the exception of the portions treating of Renan and Oscar Wilde, everything that is said with reference to Mazzini, and the English, American, and French thinkers and the problems raised by them.

Though the work, as its title implies, is predominantly historical, even the most cursory perusal of it will reveal that a definite attitude towards the religious and social questions of our time is here advocated. In contrast with the tendency of that modern mysticism, orthodox and unorthodox, which finds its intellectual support in Ecclesiastical Dogma, Absolute Idealism, or Neutral Monism, the personal and the historical are here regarded as fundamental in Reality and vital in Religion. All mysticism is not thereby denied, for in the relation of person to person thought is faced with something indefinable, something ultimate, something mystical. In the realm of persons and in the course of history no one has had or has a higher place or greater

Mac 321321

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY LIBRARY NOV 19 1957

influence upon the religious life of the western world than Jesus: and the religious geniuses and saints of the eastern world are dwarfs in comparison with him. It is not that theological reflection makes Jesus central for religion; he *is* central by his intrinsic worth; theology has but to accept the fact and present it in the light of advancing knowledge and in relation to changing practical problems. In his attitude and teaching, thus considered, we find the highest that has been offered to men for the satisfaction of their religious needs. No religious need has yet manifested itself to which he does not give the best satisfaction open to mankind, and at present it is impossible to conceive in what direction we should have to look for something higher, even if there be anything higher. The truth he reveals may indeed be final for religion. The influence he exerts may never be surpassed. Religion is the expression of what is innermost in personal life, and from it the whole life of men should be influenced. On the acceptance of that as a truth depends the claim that here we are not concerned with a mere theoretical discussion, but that we contend for a "type of life" which carries into every sphere of activity the implications of its fundamental principles. In spite of the assertions of superficial but probably honest scoffers to the contrary, ideas and principles, whether preached from the pulpit, the printed page, or the stage, have an enormous influence on human conduct and happiness. Were there ever before in the world's history greater possibilities of joy and real happiness, and healthy effort for higher things, than there are for the multitudes of to-day? Yet, was there ever so much unrest, so much striving for the delusory, so evident a confusion of the great with the trivial and the morbid? In conditions such as these, it is not a mere theory that can restore to us the balance we have lost and lead us steadily upward, but that loyalty to a person which alone can mould the whole of our life. It is our hope that these pages

may help, however little, so to present Jesus that he may inspire men with loyalty towards himself. Loyalty to Jesus implies so definite an attitude towards life that it must affect all our relations with the world and with other men; thus also it should not be without fruit with reference to our present needs.

At a later date I hope to give a systematic statement and defence of certain principles of the philosophy of religion, that are only suggested in occasional sentences in the present volume. I am greatly indebted to my father, Mr. J. T. Widgery, for reading through the whole in manuscript and making many valuable criticisms, and to a much respected friend who read the proofs and suggested a large number of improvements.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

NOTTINGHAM, 1914.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER . 1

Preliminary 27

CHAPTER I.

THE DAWN OF THE CENTURY 32

The Beginnings of Criticism in the Period of the Enlightenment —Schiller—Voltaire—Paine—Reimarus—Paulus—The New Conception of Religion and of History—Lessing—Kant—Herder—Goethe—Emerson—Carlyle—Shelley—Schleiermacher—Novalis.

CHAPTER II.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON THE LIFE OF JESUS . . . 77

D. F. Strauss—Bruno Bauer—The Evolution and the Present Position of Research—Jowett—Schweitzer—Wrede—Wernle—Baur and the Tübingen School—Réville—Kalthoff—Wellhausen—Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

JESUS AS THE PREACHER OF A LIBERAL IDEAL OF REFORM . 146

Jowett—Renan—M. Arnold—Strauss, *A New Life of Jesus*—Seeley—The Theology of Early Liberalism—Carrière—Schenkel—Keim—Hase—Parker—Channing—J. H. Newman—F. W. Newman — Martineau — Robertson — Mill — Stephen — Cotter Morison—*Robert Elsmere*—The Advocates of Idealistic Liberalism in Later Years—Tschirn—Kirchbach—Was Jesus a Reformer?

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION . . . 215

The Beginnings of Christian Socialism—Lamennais—Maurice—Kingsley—Ruskin—Mazzini—Richard Wagner's *Jesus of Nazareth* and Communism—*Joshua Davidson*—The Socialist Movements of the Century and of To-day in their Relation to Jesus—Proudhon—The Convictions of Some Artisans—The Christian Socialism of the Present Time—Naumann—Scott Holland—*Le Sillon*—What are the Ideals that Jesus gives us with Relation to the Social Problem?

CHAPTER V.

JESUS, IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF CIVILISATION AND CULTURE, AS THE PREACHER OF A BUDDHISTIC SELF-REDEMPTION . 285

Schopenhauer and Wagner—Edwin Arnold—The Theosophists—The Vegetarians—The Rejection of the Buddhistically conceived Jesus by the Liberal and Socialistic Enthusiasm for Culture—*The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*—Browning and Optimism—Nietzsche's Rejection of the Buddhistic Conception of Jesus—Naumann's Franciscan Jesus—Jesus or Buddha?

CHAPTER VI.

JESUS AND THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION OF THE PRESENT TIME . 333

Feuerbach—Tolstoi—Oscar Wilde—Modern Theology in Germany—Ritschl—Harnack—Hermann—Bousset—The Position in France—Theology in England—Gardner—Campbell—Tyrrell—Modern Idealistic Philosophy—Jesus in General Literature—Rosegger—Frenssen—Wells—Some Opponents—Ed. v. Hartmann—Soury—Sturt—Jesus, our Saviour.

CHAPTER VII.

IN THE NEW CENTURY 406

Recent Theological Research—Modern Science and Psychology—Lodge—Binet Sanglé—Underhill—Contemporary Literature—Hauptmann—Maeterlinck—Kernahan—Kalthoff and the Social Democrats in Germany—"Jesus or Christ?"—Sanday—"The Gospel and the Church"—Loisy—Drews and his Forerunners in the Theory of the Christ-myth—After the Conflicts.

INDEX 453

INTRODUCTION

JESUS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

AMONG modern thinkers nothing is more general and nothing is of greater importance than the recognition of the complexity of human experience, the great diversity of "the choir of heaven and the furniture of earth." Further, the solutions proposed to the problems of life are admitted to be in the main experimental and tentative. The spirit of dogmatism is dying. However persistent a thinker may be in the assertion of his views, and however strong he may show himself in their defence, he will usually acknowledge at least the possibility of a wider conception which will include what an opponent urges against him. At the beginning of the twentieth century it no longer appears possible to us, as it did to the thinkers of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth, to come to answers to our questions by a mere examination of the experience of the senses, or by a mere deduction from fundamental principles of thought. This consciousness of complexity has affected our views of nothing so much as of those aspects of experience that turn toward man himself, in history, morality, and religion. The nineteenth century, which has led up to the appreciation of life's abundance, must itself be surveyed in the light of this truth.

The study before us is largely, though not entirely, a historical one. It is well that we should become clear in our minds as to the reason and nature of the study of history. The writers of the eighteenth century regarded history as having primarily a "pragmatical" value, that is, as giving us examples of the interactions of forces, examples which should be useful in determining our own conduct. History certainly has such a value. We can and do learn much from the history of the past. We only do so, however, by realising an independence of the past, and by judging it from our present position. The supreme value of the study of history is much higher than this pragmatical one. By that study our life is broadened: we become consciously one with striving humanity. In its light we think and feel, not as individuals of threescore years and ten, but as vital elements in the life of the centuries. History is not, and can never be, a merely theoretical science. It is by its very nature a "human" one: it demands that the whole man go forth to meet, understand, and work with other men. The problems and movements that history shows us are to be taken up as our own. We have to recognise that in so far as those problems are yet unsolved, and the aims of those movements not yet achieved, we have our responsibility with regard to them. Problems and movements come before us in the following pages, but not problems and movements alone. History suggests to men deeper recesses in their nature by which to solve these problems, and higher ideals by which to guide these movements.

In the pride of its own achievement, the nineteenth century often represented the eighteenth as superficial. There is much truth in the indictment. Eighteenth-century thinkers were satisfied with an Empiricism that was little more than a superficial

study of Nature, or with a formal Rationalism that was so intent on deducing idea from idea that the thinking personality was lost in its own conceptual activity. By a strange irony of history, however, the nineteenth century achieved greatness by following out (though not always explicitly) a fundamental principle of its predecessor. To this principle Alexander Pope gave expression in his dictum: "The proper study of mankind is man." Along with the increase in complexity and richness of human experience, there has gone a constant tendency to make human life the ultimate aim of activity. To perfect human life, not simply of the individual, but of the race as a social and historical whole, has become the conscious object of human endeavour. All problems have to be brought finally into relation with that aim. We shall survey the nineteenth century, noticing how, through all its complexity, this ideal asserts itself.

I.

The most remarkable fact of the nineteenth century was the rapid growth of population in the western world. Upon this many of its most difficult problems depended. This rapid increase was partly due to, and partly the cause of, the rise of industrialism and the expansion of commerce. The United States of America as we know them to-day are practically the growth of the century, and nearly all the very large towns of England, Germany, and France became what they now are during the same period. The great miracle of the nineteenth century is the development of this industrial world, with its town life devoted to the production of the means for our modern mechanical civilisation. Rousseau's gospel of a return to Nature, in so far as he meant the adoption of a life principally rural and agricultural, has fallen in the main unheeded. He revolted against the artificiality of the city life of his time. The nineteenth century has seen the development of a life far more oppressive and artificial, far more removed from the beauty and freshness of Nature, and this not merely for one section of the community, but for all. The history of the century is the

history of this development and of the efforts to solve the problems it has raised.

Already in 1798 Malthus foresaw the problems that must arise with the increase of population at a rate greater than that of the production of the physical necessities of life, or of the organisation of the means of their proper distribution. His *Essay on Population* affected the study of economics and of biological science. The conflict arising out of these conditions was looked upon as beneficial to production. The Manchester school of economics founded itself on the theory that the greatest wealth is obtained by allowing to individuals the greatest possible liberty. Hence there sprang up an Individualism which, until recent years, has dominated industry and commerce. It is probable that the work of Malthus had an influence in the elaboration of the theory of Natural Selection, that through conflict those survive who are best fitted to do so. Such a theory could not but strengthen the existing tendencies to Individualism.

As men gained a deeper insight into human nature, they were led away even from the theory of Individualism. The success obtained under that principle was not due so much to the principle itself as to favourable conditions of production, and to the energy called forth in the beginning of great enterprises. The later course of social and industrial development has led to too pronounced an abandonment of the principle of Individualism. The very means used to gain wealth and power broke it down. The organisation of labour for the purpose of increased production led to the organisation of the masses to influence political government. The real beginnings of the social and political movements of the century are to be found in these industrial changes. Men could not be brought together in such numbers to work in factories and live in towns without becoming conscious of the similarity of their conditions, and of the identity and common causes of their ills. The unity into which they had been brought industrially began to assert itself politically. Industrial Capitalism, under the form of Liberalism, for long used (and still tries to use) the power of these numbers in its effort to break down the traditional privilege

of aristocratic landlords. The worship of wealth has proved to be a thousand times more delusory than homage to an autocratic, yet historic, and in many ways cultured aristocracy. The last fifty years have witnessed a change. The workers have become conscious of their own power in corporate action, and have sought to apply it to the solution of their own problems. There has been ample proof of the solidarity of the social organisations of workers that have been produced by the forces of the nineteenth century. Deplore, as we may, the evils that accrue from the expressions of power on the part of an inadequately educated section of the community, we are very short sighted if we cannot see that here a social consciousness is struggling to the birth.

Only prejudice or ignorance can account for the attitude which refuses to see in the social movement a demand for the possibility of a worthy human life. The problem that weighs upon ourselves more than any other is this, that having a deep conviction of the dignity and worth of the human soul, we find that so great a proportion of men live practically as mere cogs in a machine, coming to little or no explicit consciousness of a meaning or an intrinsic value in their own lives. The view that we are but at the beginning of the spiritual evolution of humanity, while it gives us hope in relation to the future, does not relieve us of responsibility with regard to the practical problems of the present time. Men have, as it were instinctively, rejected the idea that there are "few that be saved."

The rapid growth of population and of industrialism has given a special form to the problem of education. We have advanced beyond the view that education will solve most of our difficulties. The attitude with which modern education is generally regarded is one of pessimism. It is well that it is so: self-satisfaction is liable to hinder progressive efforts. Yet great advances have been made. Our intention in education is now entirely democratic, even though we may still be far from the realisation of that intention. The practice of education is becoming consciously humanistic in that it embraces almost all sides of the life of youth. Education does not necessarily make

a man more happy or more moral, though it makes him take a more self-conscious attitude towards his physical and social environment. In learning the limits and the possibilities of his power in any given situation he is led to exert himself to attain the best that seems open to him. Education has increased individual initiative and specialisation. In the past century there has been an increasing tendency to a division of labour unknown to any other age. Both of these facts have had an immense influence on the thought and life of the century. Everyone who has caught the spirit of individualism in education has felt the right to express a judgment on the problems of life that affect both himself and society; submission to authority has become less and less easy. Specialisation has given to the specialist a strength and a weakness; with an intensity of vision never before possible he sees the problem from his own point of view, but he is always in danger of one-sidedness. A century so full of new developments thus saw more and fiercer conflicts around the problems of religion and morality, just because of the great number of special points of view from which they were surveyed. The dangers of specialisation to the individual are real, and must be guarded against. Darwin lost all capacity for the enjoyment of poetry. One of the greatest living German scientists has said that he has no consciousness of what religion can be. If such be the experience of men who could guard themselves from one-sided development, what are we to expect for the millions who spend their days in performing the same monotonous, almost mechanical, operation? Surely here lies one of life's most serious problems.

Even in the little leisure time that men get, they do not know how to possess their souls. The speed and haste of the industrial world has infected those engaged in it with the desire for physical change and for excitement. In sport there has been a degeneration into professionalism, in which the few play and the many watch. Professionalism has also encouraged betting and gambling, the wish to get rich otherwise than by steady honest work. The old open-air dances have given place to dances in hot ballrooms,

carried on till the early hours of the morning. Week-end holidays, noisy seaside resorts, skating rinks, music halls, and now an almost insatiable desire for sensational pictures in the bad atmosphere of overcrowded cinematograph theatres—those are some of the things which have arisen as the result of this bustle of industrial life. Immersed in such conditions as these, men are hardly likely to find a deep solution of their social and religious problems, or to form any adequate judgment of the great men of the past. Even the neglect or rejection of Jesus as a guide, by men so infected, cannot carry within it any serious judgment of his worth to humanity.

Yet through all the turmoil and growth of industrial life there has been an unceasing cry for simplicity. Wordsworth expressed it in his sonnet—

> "The world is too much with us: late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers;
> Little we see in Nature that is ours.
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
> This sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
> The winds that will be howling at all hours,
> And are upgathered now like sleeping flowers;
> For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
> It moves us not.—Great God! I'd rather be
> A pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
> Or hear old Triton blow his weathered horn."

From the time of Rousseau to that of Ruskin, Morris, and Tolstoi, there has been the same cry. A few years ago Charles Wagner's book, *The Simple Life*, made a wide appeal, and Maeterlinck's mysticism of nature and solitude has proved attractive to many in our own day. The desire for country villas and garden cities is due ultimately to the same spirit. One prominent French writer even goes so far as to condemn the course the nineteenth century has taken. "Humanity is in error as to its route. Men learn and acquire knowledge; they invent; they carry on commerce and otherwise occupy themselves, and work. They are meant to

be as unintellectual, gentle, virtuous, and easy-going as possible. Knowledge does not make men good; inventions do not make them happy; while commerce, business, and toil make them wicked. Man is an animal who should live on the fruit of the ground and by agriculture. He lives according to Nature only when he cultivates his field, eats his bread sweetened with honey, and satisfies simply his strictly natural needs, which are very few. Civilisation is nothing else but the machinery man has found to satisfy absolutely factitious needs that he himself has created." It is unnecessary to criticise such a statement. The state of Nature here implied is more a figment of the imagination than anything else. Further, men can never forgo the goods of culture which the ages have struggled to achieve. The utterance is important merely as an expression of the revolt against the sacrifice of human life and worth to the mechanical processes of modern civilisation. It is the negative side of the demand that all shall share in the goods of a full human life.

II.

The greatest progress made in Natural Science in the nineteenth century and since has been in the theory of the biological sciences and in the application of the mechanical sciences to the practical life of man. There has been an increasing tendency for problems with a direct bearing on human needs to come to the fore in scientific research. If the conception of human life is wide and noble, there is nothing narrow in the definite adoption of its welfare as the aim of science. The theory of evolution, established in the organic sphere by Darwin, Wallace, Haeckel, and others, has had an immense influence upon our attitude to almost every aspect of life. At first it seemed to assault man's highest hopes; to reduce him to the level of a mere creature of earth. Man's place in nature became the question of general discussion. No longer the one end of creation, he was honoured as the highest that evolution has yet achieved. In the consideration of the factors determining his evolution to higher stages of

development the science of Eugenics has been born. This science, which concerns itself with the conditions of the production and rearing of healthy human beings, is one of the latest and most important results of the scientific endeavour of the century. Though the birth of healthy individuals is a *sine qua non* for progress, there is a tendency to exaggerate the efficacy of the application of eugenic principles with reference to the problems of life. The science of Sociology, another product of the scientific work of the century, has shown us how much men depend upon their social environment, with which so much that is best in life is related, and to which so much that is evil is due. Eugenics, Sociology, and Psychology, which has become a definite branch of careful scientific research, are good examples of the tendency of science consciously to adopt man as its object. It must be recognised as the greatest service of Auguste Comte that he insisted that it is fundamental that human activity shall have a definite relation to the welfare of humanity itself. Humanity is the object of human endeavour.

Herbert Spencer endeavoured, while considering himself to be still within the region of empirical science, to raise the idea of evolution to a universal principle, to view the whole of reality as in process of evolution. The attitude of Spencer and of Huxley and of a very large section of the workers in Natural Science, to religion and the ultimate principles of morality, has been that of Agnosticism. The actual positions of Spencer and of Huxley contained much that was contradictory to this attitude. For them Agnosticism was the expression of a theoretical position in which they were keenly interested. The Agnosticism which has grown up since is one of widespread indifference to anything that goes beyond the world of perception. The "unbelief" of the last thirty years has been a practical one: an inability to have faith in a "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," or to feel a living hope in immortality. Most often this Agnosticism has little to do with the results of Natural Science. Some agnostics work on manfully towards high ideals, but they often lose hope and faith in the humanity they know. Most live

in the pursuit and enjoyment of the empirical goods of the present.

A glance at history shows that men have never for long been able to endure such an attitude. It is just in the study of history that the nineteenth century has made one of its greatest advances. Notwithstanding the isolated precursors of a deeper insight into the nature of the study, such as Gibbon, Voltaire, and later Niebuhr, it may be safely affirmed that the writers of the eighteenth century had no historical sense. The philosophy of Hegel gave an impulse to the study, and the influence of the empirical methods of Natural Science led to the claim to make an unfettered empirical study of the documents and records of the past, apart from preconceived opinions. It was only with the triumph of this empirical method that historical science can properly be said to have begun. The historical synthesis is to be suggested by the facts; the facts are not to be forced into the procrustean bed of a dogmatic theological or philosophical system. Idealism and the biological sciences did however determine that history should be studied under the conception of evolution. In every sphere of historical research the genetic method was applied; in the history of political organisation, of morals, religion, and art.

The indefiniteness of the term evolution has become more apparent through the effort to view human history in its light. No study has helped more to lead us to an appreciation of the fundamental problems that are raised by that idea, and no study is likely to help us so much in finding an answer to those problems. We are forced in the first place to distinguish between two ideas of evolution. The term is sometimes taken to imply that the whole evolves, unwinds as it were, simply what is already within it; this is *pam-genesis*. Here there is nothing truly new, there is no real progress: what seems so is only apparent; in the last issue the process is purely mechanical. Opposed to this is the view of *epi-genesis*, that, whether the ultimate constituents are new or not, new wholes and values do come into existence, which were in no sense existent previously.

In the last issue this view is essentially teleological. The former view does not seem very helpful even in Natural Science with its generalisations: it seems futile as applied to history. The second conception renders intelligible the processes of trial and error, and the learning by experience which we find in animal life and in all human activity. History on such a principle is, as Dr. James Ward, following Kant, calls it, *a realm of ends*, a scene of actual conflicts, of the individual within himself, with other individuals and with societies, of society with society, nation with nation. In the same way it is the sphere of corporate action and co-operation. From this point of view morality has significance; stagnation and degeneration have intelligible possibility; but progress, if there is such, is real. The empirical study of history has shown that it is impossible to apply a mechanical hypothesis to its explanation, and an Absolutist one makes it lack reality. The data of psychology, leading us back to will as an important individuating factor, has helped to break down both the old rationalistic Absolute Idealism, and the mechanical theories of Natural Science, as applied to human beings.

In the psychological and metaphysical consideration of the individuals concerned in history, we find a suggestion of the nature of the ultimate factors in evolution as also of the grounds of variation. History shows man as a spiritual being with ideals, in the pursuit of which, he enters into conflict with Nature and with other men, and also utilises Nature's forces and co-operates in social activity. The study of history has helped to break down the Individualism that the theory of Natural Selection seemed to justify. It has shown that the achievements which have helped humanity most have been social. During the later years of the nineteenth century there was a tendency to underestimate the importance of the individual in social progress. Only a false psychology talks as though society has a mind that can originate ideas. However much the individual may be influenced by his social environment, it is in the individual mind that new ideas and new movements are first born. Just in that in which the individual excels over the society other than himself, he may lead

it higher. This is especially so in relation to morality and religion. From the position which denies this importance to the individual, the claims made concerning Jesus seem altogether out of proportion. The twentieth century, we believe, will witness a deeper and fuller consideration of the nature of human personality, and will accord considerable importance to the individual in history.

If it be in any sense true that the personalities of history are ultimate metaphysical realities, not solely the product of preceding forces, then it is intelligible that men may appear in the course of history whose genius in any sphere is higher than any known before or since. Dante, Michael Angelo, Shakespeare, Beethoven, are not to be accounted for by preceding history or their contemporary surroundings, whatever part those conditions may have had in determining the form or the matter of the work in each case. To argue that it is contrary to the theory of evolution and to the belief in religious progress, to hold that the greatest religious genius the world has record of, appeared in history almost two thousand years ago, is due to a failure to recognise the fact that evolution is dependent upon some metaphysical entities. There is religious progress in history if mankind as a whole is rising to the position already attained by its highest religious personality.

That voluntary poverty enables some natures to cultivate certain spiritual qualities, and that great riches often deter men from the development of these qualities, are facts of experience. The nineteenth century has, however, tended more and more to the establishment of the position, that for a "full" human life, that is, a life of physical health and of spiritual culture in the widest sense, a certain level of material welfare and comfort is absolutely essential. To supply that for all is ultimately what is meant by the social problem. The movements for political franchise had that for their real aim. Those movements have been the assertion of, and the demand for, the recognition of a certain right of self-direction, self-government on the part of the individual. This feeling of "self-dependence" (called "inde-

pendence") is, along with a correlative dependence on society and Nature, essential to spiritual welfare and progress.

The social problem, even in this narrower sense, has found a means of expression in the modern novel and problem play, which have both become increasingly prominent during the last century and since. Here again is manifest the deep interest in humanity "for man's sake." It cannot be doubted that the novel has become one of the greatest factors determining opinion and ideals on many sides of life. Novels are not merely a source of pleasure, but an influence upon the action and conduct of men. They are made a means of presenting views and attitudes in politics and social organisation, and in the moral and religious life of the individual: there is hardly an aspect of life that has not found some presentation in this literary form. The problem play is the same thing in action and speech instead of in printed word. The novel with religious import has often tended to be something sentimental and pietistic, or coloured by a sectarian bigotry. There are, however, signs, as for example in Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, that the novel is to be made a means of expression of a sane and healthy religious life.

No questions—not even the "social" question—have been so much the subject of novels and plays as the problems of the sexes and their relationship. The nineteenth century in its economic, industrial, and educational developments has in part given rise to these problems and has brought us to fuller consciousness of them. The nature of the novel as a medium obscures the fundamental issues, and further, in the popular discussion of these questions there is a demand for concreteness not always possible in a deeper treatment. Nothing valuable can be achieved by talk concerning freedom and emancipation. It is not tautological to say that a woman's freedom is not to be just anything, but to be her ideal self. Thus the ultimate problems are: (1) What is the ideal of feminine personality? and (2) What are the means of attaining it? All practical issues, so far as related to women, as, for example, those concerning the family, marriage, and her economic and political position, will be determined by the

answers to these fundamental questions. The exercise of political power may or may not conduce to the desired development: the psychical nature of women may not be a good influence in politics, nor politics on the psychical nature of women. A man must be guided by his ideal of womanhood and marriage in the attitude he adopts with regard to the education of women and their facilities for divorce. It is in the realm of the satisfaction of the emotional life that the question is most serious and calls for utmost sincerity. The economic movements of the nineteenth century have forced women into the same atmosphere as men, and the education given them has had the same tendency. It must depend upon our ideal whether we are going to accept this tendency and go on in the same direction, or whether we are to work for an economic condition and a system of education which, instead of lessening, shall emphasise and increase the differences between the lives of the sexes. Anatole France, in *Sur la Pierre Blanche*, foresees a time when there will be a definite body of women with no emotional affection and no maternal instinct. Such a forecast is based on present signs; it is an indication of the crisis, not only women themselves, but society as a whole, is going through with regard to the future of women and of itself. If in this industrial and economic development of the century men have led women to a wrong view of their own needs, they are responsible to see that that view is changed and is not realised.

Woman is not primarily a means to race continuation, but meant to be a distinctive personality in the whole of humanity. So also the life of the child is not simply a time of preparation for its after life. The scramble for wealth and position has made us forget this. We are not yet free from the utilitarian and intellectualistic bias in education which prevailed in the last century. Psychology shows more and more clearly that the best training for the child is for it to live a natural and full child life.

In no preceding century has the institution of the family been discussed so much as in the nineteenth, yet Leblond seems

right in saying that the result has been to strengthen the conviction that it is the best form of social life. "The nineteenth century, which is generally regarded as being that which has most disorganised the family, is the century in which men have had perhaps the highest sentiment of its nobility, and of the impossibility of finding happiness outside of it or of establishing social welfare on any other basis. An *amoureuse* such as George Sand and a poetic humanitarian such as Michelet join with a legitimist such as Balzac and a Christian sociologist such as Le Play, in insisting on the necessity of restoring the power of family life in France." The same conclusion is being arrived at in all spheres of western civilisation.

We are not at present concerned with the teaching of Jesus in relation to these problems. We would note their existence and the fact that the idea which dominates the method of their treatment is the perfection of human life as such. No longer are decisions of councils of ecclesiastics of past ages, or the commandments of a book (held in even the highest esteem) regarded as in any way final on such matters. Only by freedom of reflection on, and discussion of, our experience and ideals can we hope for the attainment of the highest. It is in such a manner that the problems are treated in this book.

III.

The movements and problems that we have considered imply, we contend, a principle of Humanism, *i.e.* of man or humanity for the sake of humanity. Our philosophy of life will never be satisfactory unless it adequately deals with these problems. Practical living gives the empirical facts which it is the task of philosophy to harmonise and explicate. Human individuals, as centres of thought and power, and inspired by sentiments, moral ideals, and religious hopes, appear here as the ultimate entities with which we are concerned. The real unity of these seems to be a social one, the joining force with force, not by the imposition of another force, but by the agreement of thought and feeling.

What is the attitude of philosophy toward this view, and how does this view represent religion?

The philosophical movements of the earliest years of the century were revolts against the mere Empiricism, and the formal Rationalism of the eighteenth century. The spirit of Voltaire in France, of the Leibnitz-Wolfians in Germany, and of the Deists in England, was overcome by that of Rousseau and of Kant with their appeal to the feelings and the "practical reason." The Idealism of Hegel, Schelling, and Fichte, which followed, was an attempt to rise above the dualisms involved in the Kantian position, and to represent the universe as a self-consistent whole in which the good, the true, and the beautiful are realised. Reality was thought of as "the Absolute Idea," as a "universal consciousness." This Idealism has had its representatives throughout the century, but its influence became great outside the country of its birth only when there it began to wane.

The impression made by Hegelian Idealism has usually been singularistic, *i.e.*, that the world is ultimately unitary, and individuality which distinguishes itself as in some way metaphysically separate is simply appearance. But more than anything else in the nineteenth century, it has been the progress of the physical sciences that has strengthened the tendency toward a singularistic interpretation of Reality. These sciences, with increasing precision, have represented the world as a whole in which each part is definitely related to every other part in unvarying laws of interaction. The parts do not stand out as independent: it is the whole that suffers correlated changes. Scientists have sometimes endeavoured to describe the world as one prime substance, but as to the nature of the substance they have generally remained agnostic. Spencer called it "the Unknowable." In Haeckel's Monism the substance is thought of as something that is neither matter nor mind. Even psychology has been held to strengthen and confirm the singularist position. The power that one mind can obtain over another, the experiences which have been classified as telepathy, and the experiences of mysticism in which it is supposed that the individuality of

personality is lost, are all thought to point to a singularist doctrine of Reality. Further, it is contended in the region of ethics that the individual has no dignity, value, or significance apart from the Whole; only the Whole has significance. The study of logic has nearly always influenced men towards the same view; for it the universal and the general, not the individual and the particular, have seemed the aim of thought. Thus influence after influence has insisted on a universalism, on an occupation of thought with Reality as a whole, sometimes as a universal spirit or consciousness, sometimes as a great material machine, or as a machine of an unknowable substance. We, the finite willing, feeling, and thinking beings are but parts of it: independence in any true sense is delusory. To many the religious experience also has seemed to harmonise with such cosmic interpretations. They have felt the insignificance of man and the greatness of the universe. They have interpreted their religious feeling as mystic unity, as identity, with the Whole. The feeling of dependence has been defined by them as the fundamental feeling in all religion. The law and order, the uniformity of action and reaction, revealed by Natural Science, they interpret as Divine Immanence, the spirit of God in things determining their nature and their action. In this attitude the defenders of the traditional form of Christianity have found support for dogmas which grew up in the atmosphere of the singularistic philosophies of the ancient world. The uniformity taught by science has been represented as the manifestation of the universal reason, the divine "Logos." The Incarnation has been regarded as the embodiment of this universal reason. Such expressions as "the indwelling Christ" and "Christ in us" have thus appeared to have an intelligible meaning in agreement with the teaching of science and philosophy. Finally, a mysticism founded upon this universalism has been resorted to as an immediate escape from difficult theoretical and moral problems. The historical was then accorded little place or value in the sphere of religion. The old dogmas seemed safe again, and the practical problems of life and of personal religion have been overshadowed through eagerness to hold entire "the

faith once delivered to the saints," which is taken to mean the doctrine of the creeds.

We venture to assert that this Absolutist tendency has not, in truth, been the most vigorous philosophical movement of the century, or the one most in touch with its problems. Its power in certain academic circles has lain in an apparent logical completeness. Immediately we leave the realm of logical abstraction we seem hopeless with it. The Idealism of Hegel was attacked from all sides. Schleiermacher, in opposition to Hegel's predominant intellectualism, urged the importance of the feelings and of emotional intuition in religion. Schopenhauer asserted that will is fundamental in Reality. The study of psychology during the later years of the century has done much to confirm this contention. However, it has become increasingly clear that no factor of consciousness can rightly be asserted to have predominance. Hermann Lotze made the first serious attempt to do justice to personality as a whole, without undue exaggeration of any of its constituent factors. The influence of Lotze upon religious thought in Germany, and especially in England and America, seems very great.

The Utilitarianism and Empiricism of the English writers was as unsatisfying to man's emotional and spiritual nature, as the Idealism of the Hegelians was to the senses and the life of every day. Abstractions, principles without content, and sensations without principles, are alike unacceptable. The non-philosophical man at times is Idealistic, swayed by ideals that transcend his present perceptions, at other times he abandons himself to the flow of his sense presentations and impulses. The more conscious men become of their own nature, the more do they seek for a consistent and an enduring philosophy of life. With the decline of the possibility of submission to ecclesiastical authority this search has become more widely evident than ever before.

All except a few who have shut themselves up in the fastnesses of the abstractions of Absolutism have felt the crux of the problem —the necessity of doing justice both to the empirical content and concreteness of experience and to the transcendent ideals it con-

tains. The one hope of doing this has seemed to depend upon a closer examination of the nature of human consciousness. The appearance of Professor Pringle Pattison's *Hegelianism and Personality* marked the beginning in English of a definite criticism of the conception of human personality involved in Absolute Idealism. During the final years of the century and since, it has been more and more clearly recognised that, for the proper appreciation of the problems of morality and religion, no question is of so great a significance as this one of the nature of personality.

For the Idealist the world is spiritual. Spirit as known to us is personal: we know no other. Spirit is consciousness; the "unconscious" is simply a grammatical negation of a positive idea. Values, physical and intellectual, moral and religious, are felt and have a meaning in the realm of persons. When we talk of going "beyond" persons, and make our chief conceptions the "Eternal," the "Absolute," the "Good," the "True," and the "Beautiful," we enter at once a region of abstractions, mystical and in themselves unintelligible. To require an exact definition of what we mean by personality is absurd. Definition as such is theoretical. Personality transcends the theoretical; it cannot be simply "known," it can only be "experienced" personally. The term "Personality" has a meaning for us only through our experience of our own personality in its entire concreteness. Cardinal Newman saw clearly that moral and religious truth is not abstract and intellectual, but concrete and personal, and that the relation of personality to personality (which includes thought) is the only genuine method of conveying religious truth.

We are here in contact with that spirit which, during the last fifty years at least, has been growing stronger and stronger. It is the spirit that is moulding our ideals and determining our conduct. It is an attempt on the part of the humanistic movements of the century to reach a philosophy of life: thus, in this personalism, tendencies of thought, feeling, and practical life meet. The movement to "Personal Idealism" is wider and goes deeper than many are prepared to admit. The superficialities and the extreme

statements made by some writers cannot blind us to the fact that the spirit it endeavours to express is fundamental in modern life. It insists that personality is an ultimate reality: that all our experience is in some way personal: that all knowledge man has is personal. It pursues as a conscious aim the welfare of human life in all its aspects, rather than ideals that appear to be impersonal.

The optimism that Absolute Idealism preached was soon challenged. It had been arrived at too easily, chiefly as the result of a mere play of logic, and what one might call too generous inference. The world and life, even to men studying in seclusion, did not present themselves as fundamentally and entirely rational: still less did they to those actively engaged in the daily round and common task. The mass of details of the struggles in the world of lower life, revealed by Darwin—"Nature, red in tooth and claw,"—and the general implication of constant conflict involved in Natural Selection, gave the appearance of a scientific basis to those movements that revolted from this too easy optimism. Schopenhauer saw this side of Darwin's exposition, and under its influence and that of Eastern literature he developed his pessimistic system. But it has been the evils in human life that have most often led to pessimism, to the rejection of religious beliefs, and the adoption of Agnosticism. Yet while Schopenhauer was led to pessimism and to a type of sentimental humanitarianism, Nietzsche centred his attention on the fact of the survival of the fit and the evolution to a higher stage, and on the fact of conflict as the means to this end. So, from the teachings of science he was led to an essentially optimistic view of life. With Nietzsche, however, the range of this optimism was narrower than that of the fullest development of human nature. The Superman that must be achieved must be a much more social being than Neitzsche represents him. In fact it may be said that evolution points not so much to a "Superman" as to a "Super-society."

It will be urged that the movement of thought and life we have indicated is but the merest Positivism, and that as Maurice said, it is "a headless Humanity. It is a Humanity which has no deeper root than our own nature, which can only be understood

and adored in ourselves and in our fellow-creatures. It is no metaphysical abstraction." To contend that all values for man have a relation to him as man, is not to assert that there is nothing beyond the merely human. Any adequate examination of human nature reveals social relations in ethics; dependence in religion; and, further, the striving towards an ideal that is not yet realised in human nature. The rejection of the Absolutist conception of human consciousness as being within or a part of a universal consciousness, which is the one true Reality, raises the question of the relation of personality to personality. The request for an explanation, in terms of language and thought, of the influence of personality upon personality seems to be a mistaken continuation of the effort to find physical relationships. Lotze, who found the real to consist in that which has being for self, *i.e.* in persons, finally passed to a singularistic position, simply by the application of reasoning which he had given grounds for discrediting in relation to the world of spirit. The relation of mind to mind is not to be stated in the same way that we speak of relations in the realm of physical presentations. Dr. James Ward calls the relation a *rapport*: to describe it is impossible, because the only thing that resembles it is itself.

The relationship with others is too complex and too deep for adequate statement or description in words. We experience it. The religious experience may be interpreted as consisting in personal relationship to a "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," in its fulness, to God. Men have reasons for their belief in God; but they no longer talk of proving His existence. Intellectual assent, though included in religious faith, is not the whole of it. Religious faith is utter confidence in a transcendent power, with whom men feel in a personal communion. There is something above these lives of ours. The power of God in the universe is not "interference with nature," but an intelligent, rational, orderly activity in the determination of events. There is no theoretical way of establishing an optimism that is vital and real. The only way is that of religious faith. Faith in God involves the confidence that the whole will finally realise harmony,

that the good will ultimately triumph. The charge of anthropomorphism that is so often made by students of philosophy and science, need cause no misgivings when once we have recognised fully the personal nature of all our knowledge. Personality does not involve human physical form; that form is to some extent our own mental construction. Personality means, so far as we can state a meaning, a self-consciousness, "a being-for-self," which, as we have before contended, is only "known" in our own self-experience. God as personality is a self-consciousness. Limitation in personality is limitation of knowledge and of power. Knowledge possessed by one person may be possessed by any number of persons without diminution to any: God may be omniscient in knowing all there is to be known. We find marks of unity and adaptation in the world which point us to the hypothesis that all power is more or less under one control. If the striving of the individual personalities realise harmony, when, that is, all work in harmony with the love and will of a supreme Spirit, then while each individual is an embodiment of part, this Spirit, or God, may be said to control all the power that there is. Such a relation of persons (with God) is perfected in the social and religious condition that we call the Kingdom of God. The religious attitude is thus a trusting and faithful confidence in God, leading to joyful service towards the attainment of the perfect moral harmony of men. That is the attitude of a free Theism, that was the attitude of Jesus. The modern world is coming more and more to see this to be the teaching of Jesus, and to see that his life and death embodied this faith as none others have. Men learn faith from him and his disciples not by argument, but in that personal manner that Newman saw to be the way of transmission of religious truth.

All men who rise above a certain level of culture feel the question of their own and mankind's destiny. In its consideration of the idea of immortality the nineteenth century has shown the same interest in human life that it has shown in regard to almost every other question. Ordinarily, men give little thought to immortality. This is true of those occupied with culture and

religion as of those whose occupation is with things material. Metchnikoff contends that the desire for a future life is simply due to the physical impulse to live: that physical death at an early age is not natural but due to disease, and that if a man could live for about one hundred and forty years he would be satisfied with his life and would die with no desire for immortality. In his Ingersoll Lecture, Dr. Osler expresses the opinion that most men are indifferent with regard to life after death. Mr. Lowes Dickenson also contends that there is no prevalent desire for immortality, but that the question depends on the kind of life a man experiences now, and has reason to expect. Quality of life now, of our life as men in this world, that is our prime concern, not mere duration of life. It must be admitted that, even if there be no life after physical death, all is not lost: the life now can be, if men will co-operate to make it so, on the whole worth living. A man may feel that though he may not live again, yet his life has its worth during its own course. In fact, it is in the course of life that values are being realised and appreciated. Life is "on the wing." Give the present its value and a rational attitude might be attained towards the future. A healthy and full life here will give immortality a meaning, just as the idea and hope of immortality will give a meaning to our moral ideals and much that we do and suffer here and now.

Religious scepticism, it has been said, is out of date. Individual doctrines may be doubted, even denied, but the religious attitude remains and is established as a rational factor of human life. The religious experience, though it may contain ideas of the future, is an experience which is appreciated as having a value in the present. This is now generally admitted quite apart from any consideration of whether religious experience involves transcendence of human personality. To-day, there is little negation of religion. Almost all the movements of great aims in the century have striven to show a relationship with religion or to pose as religions. Thus we have heard of the "The Religion of Science," of "The Religion of Socialism," and even of "The Religion of Woman." Religion has, however, rarely been satisfied

with anything less than reference to the whole personality in its destiny and its relation to the universe.

The problems and convictions that have thus arisen during the century have sought answers and support from the prevailing religious system. Christianity has been faced with the general question as to its attitude to the whole movement of modern life, and also to the separate problems. Christianity is something far more complex and far different from anything that Jesus knew on earth. Two questions have to be distinguished: "What does ecclesiastical Christianity say with regard to our problems?" and "What was the teaching of Jesus, and what attitude does it imply towards these problems?" Christianity has very strong Absolutist traits, due, we believe, to the philosophical conceptions predominant in the earliest centuries of its history. The teaching of Jesus appears quite free from such implication, it contains nothing so specifically philosophical. In this book we are not concerned with Christianity as an ecclesiastical system. During the century men have become more and more dissatisfied with ecclesiastical claims, and have turned continually to seek help in the teaching and life of Jesus. Our task is not to examine what the organised ecclesiastical bodies of later ages have said of Jesus.

The object of our study is not the system of Christianity, but the historical Jesus. We have two aims in view. We would present an account of Jesus as he appears to us in the light of a scientific study of the historical records. We would then, as our chief task, describe how leading men and the great movements of the century have regarded Jesus in relation to the problems that have arisen. The former account of Jesus will be a norm by which the latter may be judged. It will be seen that not the least significant men of the century have paid homage to Jesus. Many of these men were neither intimately acquainted with the sources nor trained scientific historians or religious philosophers. Their greatness lay oftener in their character and strength, and in the earnestness with which they felt the religious and social problems of the day. Few of them were hampered by subscribed agreement

to the theological tenets of any religious community. Whatever they may have assumed they were inspired primarily with a desire for truth at all costs. But, to arrive at truth a knowledge of facts and conditions is necessary, and this they did not always possess. Nevertheless, the fact that these men could so rarely accept the ecclesiastical doctrine of Jesus is noteworthy, and should lead each of us to inquire into the nature and validity of his own belief on the matter. If the traditional conception is in error it seems to be in the additions that it has made to the historical records, and in the meanings that it has read into these records from influences outside of them. Some of these additions and misinterpretations (if they be such) have been raised to the position of first importance and have led to a false attitude not only to Jesus but to the chief problems of life. To say who Jesus was and what he taught requires scientific study: we cannot in sincerity assert as fact that to which our sources give no ground. But whether we will accept Jesus and his teaching as a revelation to us of God's nature, and as the first among many brethren and the teacher of the Fatherhood of God, is a matter of our moral and religious consciousness also: it is not simply an intellectual question. The Jesus we have met in historical study stands and claims acceptance just as strongly as ever, but, we think, in a simpler, more human, more attractive, and ultimately more religious way, than the traditional dogma of the Church represents him.

Some few writers have manifested signs, not merely of hatred of the Church, but of opposition to Jesus. The attitude of these men is to be regretted, because it was often due to ignorance of the actual facts. They themselves were heavy losers. Further, the question presents itself in every case whether this hatred and opposition was not aroused primarily by the views of a narrow orthodoxy and by the lives of its professors. Orthodoxy, we are convinced, has much to answer for. Yet in the life of humanity the Church is an important and essential social and religious organisation. We suffer in our individual and our social life by the indifference with which it and its ministers are so often

regarded in the present time. It is a duty that every man who thinks seriously of religion and of social problems, and is convinced that the Church is in some ways wrong, should become an active member and work for reform. If the Church with its present form and government does not aid progress of thought and religious life, it must be captured by the forces of progress.

PRELIMINARY.

THE problems which it is our intention to discuss in detail with special reference to the nineteenth century and our own time, are such as have, in some form or other, been felt by every generation during the last nineteen hundred years. To these problems each generation has given its own particular answer. Much of the best and deepest in the lives of millions of men in the past has been intimately bound up with them, and they still call for solutions which will bring to humanity in the present time truth and happiness.

Who was Jesus? What was the purpose of his life and teaching? What significance has he and his message for the striving multitudes of to-day? Since he passed over the earth, the peoples of western civilisation have never ceased to ask such questions. The time has come when the same questions are becoming matters of the greatest consequence to the whole of humanity, for the peoples who have been won to Christianity, especially the Teutonic races, have become the colonising powers of the whole earth.

Have we still the right to preach this Jesus to others? Has he not become the object of the greatest doubt on our part? Are not the masses that have arisen in the great development of the nineteenth century beginning to turn from him, and to regard him as mythical, or, at least, as merely a great man of a past age, who is incapable of giving us answers to the burning questions of modern life? Who is prepared to deny that there are thousands, nay, rather, hundreds of thousands who think so? It is nevertheless wrong to suppose that the questions raised in our own day are fundamentally different from those of preceding

ages. It may be asserted with confidence that no century so continually occupied itself with Jesus, and so earnestly asked what he means to humanity, as the century that has just closed. During that century science shook traditional dogma as it had never been shaken before. The increasing knowledge of nature and history broke down the old dogma that a heavenly being, the second person of the Godhead, came down from heaven, was born of a virgin, walked on the sea and fed thousands of people with five loaves, rose with his body from the grave and ascended into heaven upon a cloud. Perhaps this was one of the chief reasons why men became for the first time clearly conscious of the question: "Who was this Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph and Mary, the carpenter and builder of Nazareth, with his remarkable sayings, his sufferings, and his courageous life?"

It was not merely a newly awakened historical interest that led to such intensive occupation with Jesus: the motives lay deeper. Questions, which in the eighteenth century had been discussed by theologians, the officials of the Church, and the educated, in drawing-rooms and the study, became in the nineteenth, problems of mankind, shouted out from the housetop, penetrating into the hearts of the people, who asked of Jesus an answer to their needs.

Through the history of mankind there runs an old, never-dying longing. Some ages have felt this more than others. They come just before the bursting forth of a new spring-time in the history of humanity. They are times full of dismal dreams, gloom, and doubt: times in which men talk of a lost paradise or of a golden age: times in which their faces grow stern and their hearts yearn for extraordinary events. Never perhaps was this longing and this hope stronger and deeper than at the time when Jesus was born. Not in Palestine alone, but even in the court of the emperor at Rome, and in the great commercial towns of Asia, men dreamed dreams of something great to come, and longing, saw visions of a golden time of happiness and purity. The age in which we live is also one of doubt and dissatisfaction, of longing and of hope. At the first glance this may not seem

true. We find around us a comfortable, self-satisfied class that is proud of the progress man has made along all the paths of life, and that passes its life in enjoyment. But is it not true that millions are living in the hope of some great change, in which "the mighty shall be put from their seat, the humble and meek exalted, the hungry filled with good things, and the rich sent empty away"? Most who live with such a hope, do with all sincerity of heart desire something more than material welfare: they expect glorious things from this kingdom of the future, and they are inspired to make the greatest of sacrifices to bring about their desire. In the minds of the best leaders of men in our time the longing is still deeper and more spiritual. They seek redemption: redemption primarily from the evils of modern civilisation. Civilisation is something distinctly human. Man alone has the power to evolve it: he alone has the capacity to possess the past and the future as something present and to work with relation to them. For man alone is life a problem, because he does not live entirely in the passing moment like the child and the animal. Civilisation and culture are peculiarly our own: a source of happiness and of misery. "Man," wrote Richard Wagner, "could not become conscious of the state of innocence till he had lost it: this striving back for it, this wrestling for its attainment again, is the soul of the movement of civilisation right from the time that we learn of men in sagas and history." Though it contains too much dogma, and too much Rousseau, and though such a state of innocence corresponds not to history but to legend, the statement embodies a truth. It points to the problem of culture, which, looked at from another side, is the problem of sin and its overcoming. There never was a state of sinlessness such as men have so often dreamed of: the beginnings of human life were hard and terrible: the history of humanity is not that of a fall but of a striving upward. There was indeed a time when men did not know guilt; when they did evil as the child and the animal, innocently, in self-preservation. The consciousness of guilt is the most awful, but at the same time the best gift man has received. It has deepened and it has raised him. It has placed the struggle in

his heart, and has planted within him the longing for the highest and the best, for true humanity and the living God. The problem of culture for the people of the nineteenth century was ultimately the problem of redemption, of religion, of the search for God.

Jesus, since he dwelt on earth, has been the central figure in this conflict that humanity carries on within itself to rise to higher things. In the past, it must be admitted, it has not been the Jesus of history that has occupied the thoughts and hearts of men, but that idealised figure of the exalted Lord, a figure that has been developed in the process of Christian life, and from much that existed before and around it. This idealised and imaginative conception has gone through as many changes as there have been ideals, and during the nineteenth century it has been as living and brilliant as ever before. A number of such representations of Christ still exist amongst us, from the bearer of the "bleeding heart of Jesus" of Catholicism, to the "living Christ" of the Protestant sects. Century after century the good and powerful man of Nazareth has been hidden in the overwhelming glory of the King of Heaven. The gifts that he left and the demands that he made of men have been presented at a lower level, in order to hold the masses to him. Sometimes these demands and these gifts have been declared to relate to a future life, and men have lived on here just as their fathers did of old, in war and the shedding of blood, in deeds of violence and oppression, in belief in dogmas and the performance of sacred ceremonies. Occasionally the figure of Jesus himself has been held up before men, and his gentle and courageous character has for a moment again become manifest. Since the end of the eighteenth century an ever louder call has been made to know and understand the Jesus of history, and ever larger numbers have been affected by the appeal. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, the question of the value and truth of Christianity was taken as practically identical with the question of the personality and the teaching of Jesus. More than ever before, men ask to-day for Jesus himself. He that hath ears to hear, hears that he has come again to judge, to seek, and to save.

It is this striving for Jesus himself, and this search after him with its turning from traditional conceptions, that the following pages are especially to recount. As previously stated, we shall be concerned with a historical and scientific consideration of the serious work of the century on this matter. If we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that the interest in such an investigation cannot be merely scientific and historical. Even though we may consciously strive to turn away from it, with reference to these things there burns within us a flame that affects our whole outlook on experience—the spiritual life of our fathers and our forefathers. Jesus has played so great a part in the life of every one of us, that the question which is to occupy us, "Who do the people of the nineteenth century and after say Jesus of Nazareth was?" must take for each of us the form: "Who say ye that I am?" He who takes the great questions of life seriously, who puts himself to some trouble so that he shall not exist simply as the bird of the air and the flower of the field; who wills to come to a clearer understanding of the meaning and the aim of human life, will never again be free from this question. And as he answers it, so he will answer the other question, whether Jesus in his age perceived and did the will of a God who rules the world; whether or not the faith Jesus had in God and man was an empty delusion.

CHAPTER I.

THE DAWN OF THE CENTURY.

NO other century that we are able to survey was so full of such glaring contradictions and such sudden changes, as the nineteenth; the period which commenced about the eightieth year of the eighteenth century and has just closed. In it revolution and reaction followed one another in the quickest succession, and, while the masses sank deeper and deeper into Materialism, Atheism, and even Anarchism, Orthodoxy and Ecclesiasticism reached a height of development scarcely conceivable at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The papacy and the orders of Jesuits raised themselves from the depths to which they had fallen, and became world-governing powers. Through their organisation, the evangelical churches acquired a political power such as they had never had before. A modern and democratic world perceived, with astonishment and surprise, that these old organisations are more powerful than the new spiritual life, and can employ, for their own benefit, the artifices of civilisation more ingeniously than can their inventors themselves. The reactionary parties worked most zealously with the aid of the franchise, the press, and the idea of tolerance: Liberalism lamenting, at least in Germany, has seen parliament, which it created in Church and State, torn from its influence.

During the century this division and inner confusion permeated increasingly the public life of the people: all were engaged in conflict to obtain the best for the satisfaction of life's needs. The innermost personal life of men became chaotic, and swayed restlessly, often with sudden revolution, from the spirit of the Enlightenment to that of the Romantic Reaction; from an

optimism, happy in the enjoyment of civilisation, to a weariness of life so great as to make men desire death. In the struggle of opposing factions, the ideals which the German classical writers created did not come to maturity in practical life. They faded before the glowing colours of the Romantic movement, and the clear and simple outline in which the Enlightenment saw things.

The nineteenth century, although so proud of itself, created little that was new, except in the spheres of the individual sciences and their practical application. The methods of the natural sciences were perfected as was only possible in an age of organisation. There is some truth therefore in the description of the century, that Nietzsche gives: "The nineteenth century has shown more of the animal in us (than the eighteenth); shown us to be more worldly, more realistic, more hateful and vulgar, and just for this reason 'better'; 'more honest,' more submissive to reality of every kind; *truer*, but weak-willed and sad; covetous and fatalistic." Outside of the culture of the aristocracy and of the middle classes arose the needs of a poorer class of the people, newly created or awakened to life by the development of the middle class and of industry. This class desired and demanded happiness and education. Keen and inexorable, they are climbing out of the depths; and they have not yet learnt to cover over the dark, deep places of life with the roses of an æsthetic culture, but long for firm faith and nourishing food.

All the spiritual forces which were specially felt, and everything that there was to offer for the satisfactions of spiritual and bodily needs in the nineteenth century, came into view at the dawn of the century. It was then that the historical Jesus was born again.

It was rationalistic criticism of the inspired Bible and the infallible Church that recalled him to life. For when Rationalism had torn down all the externals of the Churches, there, in the holy of holies, stood his form commanding reverence. Once more his true nature was seen, and he was regarded as a fellow-warrior in the conflict against that which had been evolved from his "pure teaching."

The Beginning of Criticism in the Period of the Enlightenment.

The age of the Enlightenment is that epoch in the history of the European mind when the ancient representation of the world and the mediæval view of life were finally destroyed. In it the currents of thought and life of the Renaissance, which had been suppressed by the overwhelming religious excitement of the Reformation, continued their course again. At first a hindrance to the growth of the new spiritual life, the Reformation proved in the following centuries to be its greatest aid. For this life became powerful, not in the countries that remained Catholic, but more especially in those in which souls had become emancipated by the Reformation, through the faith in God's acceptance of his children. These also regarded work in an honourable civil vocation as a service rendered to God. From the new life that had burst forth among the "reformed" peoples of the West, particularly in England and Holland, came the inducement to revive ancient knowledge. The fruits of great discoveries and inventions began to mature. The range of vision of Europeans increased continually. They became far better informed as to the peoples of the earth, and, in what was foreign, found striking parallels with things they themselves possessed. Much which, up to that time, had been regarded as special divine revelation—the ten commandments, for example—was discovered to be the product of natural human development, that in identical or similar form could be found among non-Christian peoples.

The old representation of the heavens, with its three, seven, or ten crystal domes, broke down completely under the careful work of Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. Nature was seen to be a realm of eternal uniformity; it was no longer a chaos which supernatural beings sought, on the one hand, to destroy, or, on the other, to sustain in tolerable order by frequent personal interference in miracles. Angels and demons, as the servants and opponents of God, disappeared gradually from the realm of acceptable thought, and laws of nature took their place.

Along with this advance in science and civilisation went a moral revolution. Disgusted with the burning of witches, the persecution of heretics, and the wars of religion, in which, in wild outbreaks of fanaticism, human nature had shown how deeply it could sink below the level of the animal, the best and noblest spirits began to regard positive religions and their churches with hatred and suspicion. *Écrasez l'infâme!* became the device of many, after the first epoch of quiet undermining work in the study rooms of learned doctors and philosophers was finished. Away with the Churches, these institutions of obscurantism and organised enmity of humanity! Even Goethe, who belonged to a new age, an age that judged with greater independence and more justly, was still able to write from such a position, that the whole history of the Church was a medley of error and despotism.

By means of the conflict of the Enlightenment against the traditional, the individual finally emancipated himself: he had already made a beginning toward this end in the Renaissance, and in the Reformation in which he had struggled for a real freedom in the most essential sphere, the life of communion with God. The political Revolution, with its proclamation of the "Rights of Man," was only an imitation of the spiritual one, which placed the individual on his own feet and overthrew all authorities that had forced upon the soul of the individual, as something external, an alien will of God or of the people. On all sides war was waged against the most powerful authority, the Church, and against its doctrines as they had been formulated by the Greek theologians, and in the form of the "sacred dogmas" of the Trinity and the Incarnation, under a halo of religious mystery, now constituted an insurmountable obstacle to all research. These doctrines are not religion, but in the main, as the English scholars of the Enlightenment rightly discovered, ancient science and ancient views of the world. This ancient conception of the world, looked upon as sacred, prevented the establishment of the new one, the greater truth of which had been shown.

Many abandoned religion completely in favour either of a scornful Scepticism that found nothing certain and everything

permitted, or of an unrelenting Materialism. In France these tendencies became supreme. Others retained belief in God, in the moral freedom of man, in the traditional morality, and in a just recompense in the next world. It was, however, denied that these were the propositions of a special divine revelation; they were regarded as the fundamental truth of all religions, a kind of natural religion, of which the historical religions were only more or less imperfect presentations.

"Three words will I name—around and about,
From lip to lip, full of meaning, they flee.
But they have their worth not in the being without,
For the heart, not the lip, must their oracle be!
And all worth in man shall for ever be o'er
When in those three words he believes no more.

Man is *Free!* by his chart of creation is free,
Though born amid fetters—still free-born the same,
Whatever the roar of the babble may be—
Whatever the frantic misuse of the claim.
It is not the freeman whose strength should appal,
'Tis the wrath of the slave, when he bursts from his thrall.

And *Virtue* is more than a shade or a sound,
And man may her voice, in his being, obey;
And though ever he slip on the stony ground,
Return ever again to the godlike way;
To the science of good though the wise may be blind,
Yet the practice is plain to the childlike mind.

And high over space, over time, is a *God*,
A will, never rocking, like man's, to and fro:
A thought that abides, though unseen the abode,
In weaving with life its creations below;
Changing and shifting the All we inherit,
But changeless through all, One Immutable Spirit!"

Both amongst the pious and "the worldly," it has become the fashion to mock at this beautiful faith of our forefathers. Nevertheless, in Schiller's warm words, borne upon the passion of a noble soul, such a faith may even to-day make its way in our hearts, and call forth a longing for the days when these sublime

ideas of humanity were still in the hearts of the people as real values and powers and not as apparitions and problems.

Before we enter upon our consideration of definite research, let us glance back at the position taken up by Voltaire, the greatest rationalist of the eighteenth century, towards the person of Jesus, who, in that age, was regarded as a kind of Jewish Socrates. Voltaire made no attempt at a real historical study of Christian origins, or at a literary criticism of the documents. Jesus, a child of Mary, born out of wedlock, was sent away by the priests from the ranks of legitimate children in the school, and, in consequence, in later years manifested animosity towards them. Having quarrelled with Judas, he was denounced by him to the Sanhedrin, taken, stoned and crucified. He preached a "good" morality, especially the doctrine of equality, which flattered the lower sections of the people. "He was a good man, who, born in poverty, spoke to the people against the superstition of the rich Pharisees and the insolent priests: he was the Socrates of Galilee." The morality Jesus taught was, contends Voltaire with eighteenth-century Rationalism generally, the same as that of other great moral teachers. "Jesus could only preach a good morality, for there are not two moralities. The moral teachings of Epictetus, of Seneca, of Cicero, of Lucretius, of Plato, of Epicurus, of Lao-tze, of Zoroaster, of Brahma, of Confucius, are absolutely the same."

It stands to the credit of Voltaire and of many of the Deists that, notwithstanding the limitations of their view, they centred their attention upon the human Jesus, and were partly the cause of the increased attention paid to him in the nineteenth century by professing Christian scholars. Voltaire's picture of Jesus breathes the spirit of the rising humanitarian movement. "Nearly all the rest of the sayings and the actions of Jesus Christ preach mildness, patience, indulgence. There is the father who receives the prodigal son; there is the worker who comes at the last hour, and who is paid like the others; there is the good Samaritan. Jesus himself justified his disciples in not fasting; he pardoned the woman who was a sinner; he simply exhorted to fidelity the

woman taken in adultery. He even condescended to the innocent joy of those at the marriage feast at Cana, who when already hot with wine, asked for more; he would work a miracle for them, to change water into wine. He was not angry even with Judas who should betray him; he commanded Peter never to use the sword; he reprimanded the sons of Zebedee who, after the example of Elijah, wished to call down fire from heaven upon a town that would not receive him. Finally, he died the victim of envy. If one dare compare the sacred with the profane, his death, humanly speaking, has much in common with that of Socrates." Voltaire makes a comparison between the two. "The Greek philosopher died through the hatred of the sophists, the priests, and the leaders of the people: the legislator of the Christians succumbed under the hatred of the scribes, the Pharisees, and the priests. Socrates could have avoided death, but he would not: Jesus gave himself up voluntarily. The Greek philosopher not only pardoned his slanderers and his evil judges, but he also besought them some day to treat his children in the same way, if they were fortunate enough to merit their hatred, as he was: the legislator of the Christians, infinitely superior, prayed his Father to pardon his enemies."

Such a view of Jesus and of his teachings was as powerless as the Church itself against the evils of the time. It lacked the virility to mould the ideals of the French Revolution, the greatest impetus to thought and to definite action in social life, either by way of expansion and advance, or of reaction and suppression, that modern Europe has known. Apart from the economic causes of extremes of wealth and poverty, the Revolution was in some measure the result, and at the same time a popularisation, of the rationalistic principles of the eighteenth century. Problems then raised have been constantly before our eyes ever since; the contrasts then so pronounced have been the object of the thought of some of the best men of the century, and still the evils remain. The fundamental principle of the Revolution, the same that had operated in the religious reformation, was the principle of liberty. To-day, no more than through the century, have we succeeded in giving this principle its true interpretation in relation to social

co-operation and social ends. The change to a distinctly social organisation and outlook has not yet come, but it has been gradually developing to the birth. Even in this great upheaval of the Revolution, in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, there are signs of some seeds being sown.

All countries that were aware of the nature of the Revolution were affected by it. In France, in England, in America, popular thought centred round the "Rights of Man." Current ideas found a voice and received an impetus from the works of a writer known in all three countries, Thomas Paine. His work was essentially popular; he was an active propagandist, showing great courage in the pursuance of his cause. None so much as he brought the current problems into relation with questions concerning religion; and notwithstanding their early suppression, few books were more widely read than his. They are still reprinted, and, among certain anti-clerical portions of the masses, even now his arguments are occasionally heard. Like Robert Blatchford of our own day, Paine's chief sphere of activity was that of social and political matters, and he believed that the prevailing religious "superstition" was one cause of the bad social conditions.

Paine, who shared the rationalistic spirit of the eighteenth century, was a Deist, and originally a Quaker, believing all men equal by virtue of the divine light within. He had the definitely English leaning towards recognising the importance of empirical methods. In his reference to "Christian Mythology" he anticipated Strauss, and in his attempt to bring into prominence the Jesus of history he suggests Renan. Even in his view of the religious experience he is more modern than many of his fellow Deists. Religion "is man bringing to his maker the fruit of his heart." In *The Rights of Man*, and in *The Age of Reason*, we are told to learn from "God's munificence to all to be kind to one another." Yet, in company with the other Deists, Paine places his attention almost solely on the ethical, which is something universal and natural. The moral teachings of the New Testament "are the natural dictates of conscience, the bonds by which society is held together, without which it cannot exist:

they are nearly the same in all religions and societies. The New Testament teaches nothing new upon this subject, and where it attempts to excel, it becomes mean and ridiculous. The doctrine of not retaliating injuries is much better expressed in Prov. xxv. 21, which is a collection as well from the Gentiles as from the Jews. . . . 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink'; but when it is said, as in the New Testament, 'If a man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,' this is to assassinate the dignity of forbearance and make one like a spaniel." Thus for Paine and Rationalism generally it is the precept, not the inner spirit of the New Testament teaching, that is considered—the externals which give scope for the application of a dry logic. "*Loving of enemies* is another dogma of feigned morality, and has, besides, no meaning. It is incumbent on man, as a moralist, that he does not revenge an injury; and it is equally as good in a political sense, for there is no end of retaliation; each retaliates on the other and calls it justice: but to love in proportion to the injury, if it could be done, would be to offer a premium for a crime. Besides, the word *enemies* is too vague and general to be used in a moral maxim . . . to say that we can love voluntarily, and without a motive, is morally and physically impossible. The maxim *of doing as we would be done unto* does not include this strange doctrine of loving enemies; for no man expects to be loved himself for his crime or for his enmity." The last sentence is a good example of the type of perversion to which such rationalistic critics had to resort. The physical and psychological difficulty is a real one, but is not insuperable from the point of view of the Christian spirit—that we should strive in face of all to do good to all men, even to those who have done us injury. That, however, is far from loving a man "for his crime," "for his enmity," or "in proportion to the injury"—of which ideas we may say that they are open to all the criticism that Paine bestows upon them, and to this besides, that they are absurd and immoral and not Christian, or from Jesus. Man, every man, is to be loved as man and as brother, and this not in indifference

to his moral worth, or as "offering a premium for crime," but as the best means of raising men above crime.

The idea of God held by the Deists was not that of Jesus. As in Jesus they saw only the moral teacher, so, and largely as a result of this, they failed to appreciate the distinctive character of his conception of God—as Heavenly Father—and of his religion as the relation of personal trust in God. As the century passed it became more and more clear that the moral teaching of Jesus is inseparably bound up with his religious attitude, which depends upon his conception of God. The ideas of the Deists, and of the early Idealists, besides those of such leading minds as Goethe, Carlyle, and Emerson, sublime as they in some ways are, lacked that personal note, that implication of a communion with the divine, that personal trust in a personal God, that permeated the whole religious experience of Jesus. The highest the Deist says is still far from it. "Do we want to contemplate His power?" writes Paine. "We see it in the immensity of the creation. Do we want to contemplate His wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate His munificence? We see it in the abundance with which He fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate His mercy? We see it in His not withholding His abundance even from the unthankful." External and abstract as much of this Deism was, it did not, as the German Idealistic systems tended to do, confuse God with His creation, and in this way it admitted of more direct development to a Christian Theism.

Attempts have often been made by orthodox apologists, of a type fortunately disappearing, to represent Paine as a vulgar and malicious man, and so to discredit his work. Such argument, even if true, is unworthy; and if not true, is unjust. There seems every reason to believe that Paine was sincere, but that his view was limited. This would seem evident in what he says of Jesus himself, to whose "real character" he declares he feels no disrespect. "He was a virtuous and amiable man. The morality that he preached and practised was of the most benevolent kind; and though similar systems of morality had

been preached by Confucius, and by some of the Greek philosophers many years before, by the Quakers since, and by many good men in all ages, it has not been exceeded by any." "He preached . . . the equality of men, but he preached also against the corruption and avarice of the Jewish priests, and thus brought upon him the hatred of the whole order of priesthood." "Neither is it improbable that Jesus had in contemplation the delivery of the Jewish nation from the bondage of the Romans. Between the two, however, this virtuous reformer and revolutionist lost his life." In the French edition this sentence ended, "too little imitated, too much forgotten, too much misunderstood, lost his life."

Amongst those who most seriously attacked Christianity in its traditional form was H. S. Reimarus, the author of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. With patient but pitiless penetration he examined the gospels and placed them one against the other. In doing so he saw problems which have again arisen only at the end of the nineteenth century, after an enormous amount of careful work upon details. This professor of mathematics was as clear and keen as the best men of his time: what he lacked was the power to understand history, the actual life of a time other than his own. In his presentation "of the aim of Jesus and his disciples" he never went beyond the beggarly "pragmatic" method of writing history that was common to his age. In criticism he shows great skill. It is true that he had predecessors; but in reading the *Fragments* one is continually astonished at the keenness with which everything is observed, and at the quiet certainty with which it is described.

If, for example, we examine the Fragment that deals with the resurrection, we see at once how acute is his observation, acknowledged also by modern criticism, that the story related by Matthew of a guard watching the grave of Jesus is not only not to be found in the other gospels, but leads to all kinds of complications and contradictions with their records, and that, for other reasons also, it cannot be historical.

The story lacks all external testimony to the truth of its

miraculous elements. Further, Reimarus suggests that the witness of the gospels to the resurrection and ascension of Jesus has little consistency. He points out divergences in ten places in the reports, and he concludes: "Witnesses who vary so much in their accounts of the most important circumstances would never be acknowledged as valid and reliable in any worldly business, even if it were a matter of only a small amount of money, to the degree necessary for the judge to come to certainty on their narratives, and to base a judgment upon them: how can it be desired, then, that on the report of four such varying witnesses the whole world, the whole human race at all times and in all places, should base their religion, their faith, and their hope of bliss?

"But it is not simply a matter of differences in the narratives: in many places they undeniably contradict one another and make the good commentators who endeavour to bring these four accounts into better agreement so many martyrs in vain."

Reimarus quotes ten of these quite obvious contradictions, the same ten that at a later date Lessing also triumphantly demonstrated to be real inconsistencies in the records. On all sides, by careful comparison, the witness of the gospels for the supernatural, divine nature of Jesus and his miracles was deprived of all force, as being invalid.

Was it the intention of Reimarus thereby to destroy all religious faith? Not at all: he worked for that natural religion of which we have spoken, with its faith in God, virtue, and immortality. All he wished to get rid of was the orthodox Christian dogma of a supernatural Jesus as the second person of the Godhead, coming down from heaven. For him Jesus was simply the most perfect teacher of virtue and of natural religion. Reimarus, as many others of his age, could not conceive that an intelligent man could really have believed in the "absurdity" of angels and devils. Living at a time when an enlightened despotism openly discussed the question as to whether one might justifiably deceive the people for their own good, he quite intelligibly thought of Jesus as a clever diplomat who wished to gain victory for his

doctrine, and to establish a kingdom of reason upon political lines. For this end Jesus associated with John the Baptist: one refers to the other in order to win the people. However, the plan failed. The disciples, deceived in their hope of sitting on twelve thrones and to govern Israel, and thinking, like the unrighteous householder, "Dig I cannot; to beg I am ashamed," stole the corpse of Jesus and announced that he had risen from the dead. So they gathered together a crowd of people who were foolish enough to believe them and to hope for a return of the dead one from heaven: and as some of these people were rich, the young society had enough money to live upon.

It is remarkable that a man who was so acute in criticism should not have seen the weaknesses of his historical construction. The words placed in the mouth of Jesus in the gospels refute the suggestion that the records of the miracles were deliberate untruths: the men, who after the death of Jesus were so strong in their belief that they met persecution and martyrdom for it, could hardly have been impostors. It would be quite unnecessary to-day to waste a moment over such ideas, if they did not still appear in quarters where there seems to be no notion of the enormous progress that historical science made in the nineteenth century.

The Enlightenment, in fact, had no sense of history. It could think of men only as being in all centuries essentially the same. An intelligent man in the first century was conceived as knowing the same things as one in the eighteenth. Those who professed to work miracles and those who believed in miracles, were either mentally unsound or impostors. To-day we think historically enough to do justice to these unhistorically thinking men of the eighteenth century. We understand that it was with such paroxysms that they had to fight for spiritual freedom, in opposition to the alleged historical facts that had been raised to a position of authority; and that only thus could they shake the "divine" foundations of this authority. Notwithstanding a lack of historic sense, the service of Reimarus to the critical study of the gospels was still great.

The first detailed life-history of Jesus, written in the style of a

sentimental novel of the period, was by the noteworthy professor of theology, K. Fr. Bahrdt. He introduced into it the order of the Essenes, which according to him was a kind of freemasonry. He thought he had gone farther than Reimarus, concerning whom he wrote the delightful words: "Now he will indeed be better instructed than could be the case from Semler and all other great and small writers, that Jesus was too wise and too good to aspire to a Jewish throne, and he will be happy with all the joy of heaven that his views already so mature are now perfected." Venturini's *Natürliche Geschichte des grossen Propheten von Nazareth* ("Natural History of the great Prophet of Nazareth"), 1802, is merely an extension of the sentimental freemasonry romance of Bahrdt. In the second edition (1806) Venturini himself withdraws the piquant story of the birth of Jesus, and excuses himself for its frivolity. It is necessary to mention these books, because they trace the miracles back to a secret working of the Essenes, the entire history of which order as given by these writers is pure invention, and because similar ideas still hover about in certain circles and continue an underground existence. To some minds the more mystical and uncontrollable, the more attractive such things are.

The defence of the attacked position was taken up on all sides. Along with people like Goeze were unattached scholars who themselves exercised historical criticism. The right wing of the Enlightenment in particular, the exponents of rational theology, endeavoured to give a "natural" explanation of the evangelical miracles; and even to-day we can trace their influence here and there in theological works. Distinctive of this tendency was the exposition of the gospels and the life of Jesus given by the Heidelberg professor of theology, Paulus. He saw what a contradiction it was to regard Jesus as the noblest and most perfect moral teacher of humanity, and at the same time to make him a subtle political intriguer. According to his opinion, the records of miracles are misunderstandings on the part of the evangelists or of their interpreters. Upon closer examination they vanish. We have (for example) the translation, Jesus walked "on the

sea"; the Greek preposition in the passage *epi* is used after the manner of the Hebrew *al* of a man standing on the shore, or even of an army situated on the shore. That is the way we are to understand its use in the New Testament. Jesus stood on the shore; he called to Peter to "come,"—naturally by swimming, —and he helped him when he sank. When the gospels speak of voices of God or angels, Paulus assumed that it was thunder; the appearances of angels were meteors or wrongly apprehended flashes of lightning. A passage like John xii. 28 ff. says that, on one occasion of a voice from heaven which only Jesus understood, the people perceived it to be thunder; if necessary, says Paulus, we may adopt such an explanation generally. Applied to the records of all these miracles this method is simply laughable.

The method becomes contemptible with reference to the stories of the birth and the resurrection. With regard to the former it is said that an unknown person, sent by Elisabeth, the wife of a priest, represented himself as the archangel and deceived Mary; while with relation to the resurrection it is suggested, that, after the crucifixion, in the coolness of the grave, Jesus recovered from his trance and cramp, and that after forty days he died from weakness and fever. This is simply foolish, and yet it was presented to us as what is really to be found in the gospels!

There is no longer any need to refute this "natural" explanation of miracles. Strauss disencumbered himself absolutely of such explanations. The Rationalists were caught in the same error as their orthodox opponents. If the latter would not give up their belief in literal inspiration, so the former would not abandon the superstition that the gospels were literally correct statements of history: they would not regard them as the product of the faith of their age. As the belief in miracles was gradually disregarded, these meaningless, even contradictory, "natural" interpretations came into existence as a means of getting rid of the alleged miraculous appearances, in such "pragmatic" explanations as that they were the artificial means of cunning politicians; the self-deceptions of a foolish, superstitious crowd; or the mistakes of the commentator.

We should, however, be unjust to Paulus and to those who thought as he did, if we did not mention what he himself says in the preface of his *Life of Jesus*: "My greatest wish is that my opinions concerning the miracles should not be taken as the chief thing. How empty religion or the devotion to God would be, if the truth of it depended upon whether one believed in miracles or not! . . . The great aim of Jesus and of his followers is, by beginning with the requirement that men should change from their usual sensual disposition, to mould the will of the individual to the likeness of God, and to make external conditions such as a true godhead would approve, thus producing a theocracy or a kingdom of God for the many. The miraculous in Jesus is himself. His pure serenely holy and genuinely human feelings, to be imitated and realised by human minds; his confidence that spiritual health, that is, the true welfare of men before and after their separation from this life on earth, is only attainable through the production of spiritual good; his perseverance, without force or guile, to be understood and to influence the people in their social life; his self-sacrifice in his devotion to the faith in a divine if at the same time very gradual education of the human race; his manifestation of this conviction under the constant shadow of danger to his life; and the manner in which he gave his youthful life to spread faith amongst receptive minds, to lead them to strive to similar creation of spiritual good and sublimity,—that is what is truly miraculous."

That after all, though in stiff and pedantic phraseology, is really to come in contact with one side of the being of Jesus. In its sincere earnestness it is far better than much of the sentimentalism which, through the grace of the gentle saviour, would dispense with moral effort. Nevertheless, it is only half the truth, and the way in which it is described is without art.

As a witness of a time gone by, the aged Paulus lived on into the new conditions which arose in Germany, and at that time especially in the Romantic school at Heidelberg. Even when he published his *Life of Jesus* the world was already changing. A deeper conception of religion and of life, of

miracle and of sacred history, had grown up, when this undaunted fighter for rationality and enlightenment sank into the grave.

The New Conception of Religion and History.

Already when he edited the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, Lessing had attained a point of view higher than either that of Reimarus or of his orthodox opponents. In place of the old doctrine of inspiration, and of criticism equally unhistorical, there arose first definitely in Lessing, a new historical view of the origins of Christianity. Christianity was now thought of as having arisen not from a book, but from the experience of a society: with this view came insight into the origin and nature of a varying oral tradition of the beginnings of our religion. Lessing regarded it as simply natural that there should be inconsistencies in a historical tradition that had been transmitted orally for at least thirty or forty years, till the time when it was first written down. Only a continuous miracle could have prevented that. Nevertheless, the things that are recorded with so many contradictions cannot be simply declared not to have occurred: the resurrection of Jesus might have a certain justification, although the accounts in the gospels are contradictory. Such was Lessing's outlook: and his view would be a correct one, if there were nothing to say against the resurrection except the inconsistencies of the records.

Much more important and truly liberating are the great fundamental propositions that Lessing propounded on the occasion of his discussion with Goeze concerning the relation of Christianity to its history and its scriptures. The following are the most significant: "The Bible obviously contains more than belongs to religion," namely, statements concerning historical and scientific matters. "It is simply hypothesis that the Bible is infallible in these things." "The letter is different from the spirit; the Bible is not religion." The criticism of the Bible therefore cannot destroy *faith*, but only one *form* of faith. "Religion existed before the Bible." Religion gave birth to the Bible, not the Bible to religion. Religion is the first and valuable

321324

thing, and the Bible must be judged according to it. "However much may depend upon the scriptures, it is impossible that the whole truth of Christianity should rest upon them." "The written traditions must be explained by their spiritual truth." "Contingent facts of history can never be the proof of necessary truths of reason." In our own words: We can base our faith neither upon a book taken to be inspired nor upon alleged historical facts. For, once for all, facts can never be so absolutely surely established as to serve as a basis for a philosophy of life. The contradictory accounts of the miracles in the gospels have not the least value for such a purpose. Even if they were historically quite certain, would they be a proof of the truth of Christianity? By no means; for the natural scientist would simply declare that they resulted from unknown laws of Nature, and he would keep his eyes open to discover these laws and to make them known. Science cannot give up the principle of eliminating God as the immediate cause of events, from its explanation of the course of the world. Science has achieved its greatest results since it has no longer made use of God in place of a scientific hypothesis for unexplained phenomena. Lessing made clear again those moral and religious grounds that Jesus himself felt when he sharply refused "to give a sign from heaven" in order to prove his religion. For religion there is only one proof, the spiritual one, the proof of reason, as Lessing would have described it; or as Jesus would have said, the proof of conscience, the acceptance of the call to repentance.

Lessing's propositions are a security against the tendency to reject religion on the grounds of the results of historical criticism; a tendency through which, under the influence of Feuerbach and Strauss, so many during the nineteenth century have discarded at the same time both kernel and shell. If miracles can prove nothing for religion, then the demonstration that they did not happen cannot affect religion in its innermost nature.

To Lessing is also due the new conception of history, in that he called history the Education of the Human Race by God. He taught us to look upon history, not as the work of cunning kings

and priests, but as the organic development of a great whole. He still remained strongly under the influence of the old narrow idea of the revelation of God in the pages of a book, and his thought of the education of humanity moves in the circle of ideas of a school in which books are learned by heart. At first God gave men an elementary book, the Old Testament, to teach them pure monotheism. "A better instructor must come and take the exhausted primer from the child's hands. Christ came!" "It was time that another *true* life, to be expected after this, should gain an influence over the youth's action. And so Christ was the *first certain practical teacher of the immortality of the soul.* The first *certain* teacher. Certain through the prophecies that were fulfilled through him; certain through his own revival after the death by which he had sealed his doctrine. The question whether we can still *prove* this revival and these miracles, I put aside, as I leave on one side also that concerning who the person of Jesus Christ was. Those things may have been at that time of great weight for the reception of his doctrine, but they are now no longer of the same importance for the recognition of the *truth* of his doctrine. The first *practical* teacher. For it is one thing to conjecture, to wish, and to believe the immortality of the soul as a philosophical speculation; quite another thing to direct the inner and the outer acts by it. And this at least Christ was the first to teach. For, before him the belief had been introduced in many nations that bad actions would be punished in such a future life; but they were only such actions as were injurious to civil society, and consequently, too, had already had their puishment in civil society. To enforce an inward purity of heart in reference to another life was reserved for him alone." Nothing in this estimate of Jesus goes beyond the rationalistic conception. For Lessing, Jesus was a teacher of purity of soul with a view to immortality; his miracles and his particular character were perhaps a special ordination of God's which alone at that distant time could inspire men for this doctrine. But while the Rationalists turned the conception against the old dogma, Lessing sought to win a deeper meaning for it by

separating it from the person of Jesus and interpreting it as a philosophical view of the world and humanity. With him begins a series of attempts which finds its highest point in Hegel and meets us again in Strauss, to think into the dogmas of the Church the profound thoughts of German philosophy. In this manner doctrines shaken by Rationalism were reanimated, but at the same time they were separated completely from the person of Jesus. Speculatively transformed, the old dogmas obtained a new power over the minds of men, but afterwards it became possible for the reactionary movement falsely to represent the old meaning as the highest, and as the one to which the greatest men of the century had done homage.

Kant also belonged to this group of men whom Lessing represents, for he allegorised the dogma concerning Jesus. In his *Religion within the Limits of the mere Reason* he understands the Son of God coming from heaven as the personified idea of the good. "The teacher of the gospel announced himself as sent from heaven, and as worthy of being so sent; declared that the servile belief in externals (such as days specially set apart for the service of God; creeds and ceremonies) was of no value in itself; and that, on the contrary, the only faith that makes men happy is the moral conviction which alone makes men holy, as 'your Father is holy.'" "This teacher proved through his good life that he was genuine." Mere belief in the historical details is a matter of pure indifference: the essential idea, intrinsically true, and not needing any justification, is that, concealed behind this teacher come from heaven, there is the idea of humanity in its moral perfection. This man, alone "well-pleasing" to God, is "in Him from eternity"; the idea of this man comes forth from the being of God; thus he is not something created, but the only-begotten Son of God. Just for the reason that we are not the originators of the idea, but it has made its appearance in man without our being able to conceive how human nature could even be sensitive enough for it, we may say that this original presentation has come down from heaven to us; that humanity has received it. . . . Kant has not only grasped the moral teaching of

Jesus, but he has, in his penetrating manner, gone quite to the heart of it. Under the title "Concerning Service and Merit under the Sovereignty of the Good," Kant, entirely in the spirit of the Enlightenment, proceeded to show, by reference to a series of the sayings of Jesus, the opposition between the purely moral disposition of the heart and the observation of external, civil, and statutory ecclesiastical duties. We have here already all the tendencies which at a later time Liberalism in its struggle for religious freedom and Church reform found in Jesus. The moral idea was so strong with Kant that he even found it in the saying concerning the narrow way; for him the narrow way was the good conduct of life, while the broad way was the Church. "It is not that men are lost because of the Church and its dogmas themselves, but that attendance at church, the profession of its dogmas, and the celebration of its rites are taken to be the way in which God really wishes to be served." He sought to give a modern interpretation to the expression "kingdom of God," as also to the idea of reward that we meet so often in the Gospels, and that is inconsistent with Kant's autonomous ethic. Especially interesting in this connection is his exposition of the parable of the Great Judgment Day, the point of which he found to be, that the rewarded *did not know* when they clothed the naked, gave drink to the thirsty, and food to the hungry. It was not for the sake of reward therefore, but out of pure love to the suffering that they had done it. Jesus did not wish to impress the future prospect upon the individual as a motive; "good conduct" for that motive would really have been bad, in the highest degree deceptive. Rather his hope was on the elevating thought of the perfection of divine goodness and wisdom in the guidance of the human race as a whole. The reward of the good is not a question of the satisfied selfishness of the individual, but of the elevation and perfection of the whole. Only reason, which alone can consider the destiny of humanity, is able to form this idea, and so to humanity it is the object of the purest reverence and of the greatest moral well-being. With regard to the individual Kant felt compelled to say: "Of the future we know

nothing, and we ought not to strive to find out more than that which stands in rational connection with the motives and aims of morality. Along with this we should have faith that there is no good conduct that will not have good consequences in a future world for those who perform it."

In Herder the new harmonies swelled more fully, to the generation of those days often too strange, and with too many chords, but revealing to us an abundance of magic sounds from which many wonderful melodies may yet be born.

It was Herder who first rose distinctly above that rationalistic treatment of history which, as he describes it, looks upon the human race as "an anthill" "where the foot of a being more strong, who though in another form is himself really as an ant treads thousands under foot, annihilates thousands in the midst of their insignificantly-great undertakings; where, finally, the two greatest tyrants of the earth, accident and time, clear away the whole hill without leaving a trace, and leave the empty place for another energetic colony, which will also, in its turn, be likewise disposed of without leaving a trace behind." In opposition to this, Herder believed in "the genius of humanity" and speaks to it: "The formulas and ceremonies in which I saw thy spirit, and in which I tried to express it for my fellows, will pass away; but thy thoughts will remain, and step by step thou wilt gradually reveal them to thy race." For Herder, humanity was not merely a body but a soul and a heart as well; and with the inspired gaze of the student and of the prophet, he watched the development and growth of this organism of humanity. He had to work without the numerous sources which, since his time and largely by the help of his genius, we have acquired.

In his *Ideas towards a Philosophy of the History of Humanity*, which was to reveal to us the eternal ideas of the spirit of our race, Herder described Jesus. A poet created this picture, but he put on the mantle of the scholar; a prophet, but the spirit of the preacher oppressed him. The need of the churches and the conflict of the theologians made deep, ugly furrows upon his brow.

"Seventy years before the downfall of the Jewish state there was born in Judea a man who has brought about an unexpected revolution in the thoughts and beliefs, as well as in the conduct, of men: Jesus. Born poor, though he belonged to the old royal house of his people, and brought up in the roughest part of the country far from the scholarly wisdom of his externally fallen nation, he lived the greater part of his life unnoticed, until, initiated by a heavenly appearance at the Jordan, he gathered round himself twelve men of his own position, travelled through the greater part of Judea with them, and soon after sent them out alone as bearers of the news of the advent of a new kingdom. The kingdom which he announced, he called the kingdom of God, a heavenly kingdom, to which only chosen men could attain, to which he called them, not burdening them with external ceremonies and duties, but requiring of them all the more the pure virtues of the spirit and of the feelings. The few discourses that we have of his show us the truest humanity: it was humanity that he manifested in his life and strengthened in his death; as his favourite name for himself was that of the Son of Man. It was the natural result of the circumstances in which he lived, that he found many disciples in his own nation, especially among the poor, and was soon moved out of the way by those who, with a semblance of piety, oppressed the people, so that it is almost impossible for us to say definitely the time in which he carried on his public ministry.

"What then was this kingdom of heaven whose advent Jesus proclaimed, encouraged us to desire, and himself strove to realise? That it was no worldly power is shown by all of his sayings and deeds, right up to the last clear profession he made before his judge. As a spiritual saviour of his race he wished to make 'men of God,' who, under whatever laws they might be, demanded from pure principles the good of others, and, through patience, were sovereign in the kingdom of the true and the good. It is obvious that a purpose of this kind is the only possible aim for our race; to attain which, the more sincerely they think and strive, all the wise and good of the earth will and must co-operate:

for what other ideal of his perfection and happiness upon earth has man, if it is not this pure universal striving humanity?

"Reverently I bow before thy noble character, thou king and founder of a kingdom with aims so great, so persistent and so comprehensive, of principles so living and so simple, and motives so powerful that to thyself the scope of this life on earth appeared too narrow! I find nowhere in history a revolution, which was in so short a time and so quietly initiated, through weak instruments planted everywhere on earth in so remarkable a manner. From its results one cannot escape; it has become associated with good and evil. This revolution has been brought about among nations, under the name, not of thy religion, that is, of thy living conception for the good of men, but for the most part of a religion based on thee, on a thoughtless adoration of thy person and thy cross. Thy purer spirit foresaw this. It would be to profane thy name to dare to call by it every turbid stream that has been associated with thy pure spring. So far as it is possible we will refrain from naming thee. Before the whole of history that finds its source in thee, thou standest alone!"

The wonderful reserve with which that is spoken; the care with which all is said, particularly to one approaching it from the plain-spoken but savourless discourses of the Rationalists, cannot conceal the fact that even here no great progress beyond the old has yet been made. Jesus stands in lonely sublimity in an early, uncultured age as the one preacher of the ideal that now without him man might find by his own reason; Jesus as a man who lived as a teacher and died with perfect faith in his mission. The Herder who revealed again the folk-song and the prophetical poetry of the Old Testament, had not the capacity to experience and present in the same way to our souls the gospel, its prophet, and his significance.

Even Goethe, although in him new light shines in two directions in which Jesus is to be found, has not given us the highest here. What the writers of the "Storm and Stress" had extolled in idea, but sought in vain, he, and together with him, the thinkers of the period of the Romantic Reaction first found: that tran-

scendence of ordinary men, which alone can account for the personality of Jesus: genius, "that productive power through which deeds are done, which can show themselves before God and in Nature, and which, just for this reason, have effects and are enduring. . . . Genius is subject to nobody's power, and is above all earthly might. . . . It is related to the demoniacal, which overpowering him does with a man what it wills, while he submits unconsciously, believing that he is acting from his own motives. In such cases a man is often to be regarded as the instrument of a higher power which rules the world, as a vessel found to be worthy to receive a divine influence. . . . I say this because I remember how a single thought has changed the course of centuries, and how individual men, through that which emanated from them, have made an impression on their age that remained still recognisable, and continued to exert a beneficial influence in following generations."

Fettered by the insignificant himself, Goethe did not see Jesus in the light of this idea. It was upon the second way that he met Jesus: that of the conscious development of his own soul. It was the first time, so far as we know, that Jesus was experienced in this manner. We have the earliest similar example in the case of Zinzendorf; but his Jesus is rather the imaginative picture of the glorified Lord with which the pietist lives, embodying therein what he misses in himself. It was Goethe who first looked upon the historical with that deep interest in his own education which permeates all his words, that deep interest in life which, as the breath of a noble and quiet spirit, still hovers to-day about the places where he created a new German ideal. His definite sayings on our subject are only few, and they are often heard, nevertheless they ought not to be missing here.

In reference to the research upon, and the critical study of, the gospels, which to-day is a hundred times more detailed than it was then, and may easily bring doubt and confusion to any one who does not co-operate personally in the work, he spoke true words of confidence. "To enter upon a historical and critical examination of the gospels is like trying to empty the sea. The

best way, therefore, without further ado, is to adhere to that which is set down, and to appropriate to one's self as much as one can use for one's moral strengthening and culture." And to his spirit, grasping the whole thus, the four gospels appeared in his sense to be "completely genuine." That he knew how to appropriate to his own needs the stories of miracle in the New Testament, is shown by his remarks to Eckermann concerning the stilling of the storm. "This is one of the most beautiful of legends, and one which I love better than any. It expresses the whole doctrine that man, through faith and hearty courage, will come off victor in the most difficult enterprises, while he may be ruined by the least paroxysm of doubt." The story of a miracle is not of reality, but of truth, a poem upon a great theme, presented to the senses. Historical insight is not yet attained by Goethe here, but *poetic truth* is set in the place of "rationally" modified history. What he felt of Jesus may be seen from his words to Eckermann. "If there exists a real need for a great reform in a people, God is with it and prospers it. He was clearly with Christ and his first disciples; for it was a need of men that the new teaching of love should appear; he was just as visibly with Luther, for the purification of that doctrine from ecclesiastical accretions and misrepresentations was none the less needed. Neither of the great characters that we have named were friends of the prevailing state of things, rather both were firmly convinced that the old leaven must be removed that it might no longer remain and propagate further the defective, the false, and the unjust."

To complete this we must quote what is said concerning the "third" religion in *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*. "It is the last one which humanity could, and which it was bound to, attain. Yet what was demanded for it? Not merely to leave earth below and claim a higher origin, but to recognise as divine even humility and poverty, scorn and contempt, shame and misery, suffering and death; nay, to revere and make lovable even sin and crime, not as hindrances, but as furtherances of holiness! Of this there are indeed traces throughout all time; but a track is not a goal;

and this stage having once been reached, humanity cannot turn backwards. It may be maintained that the Christian religion having once appeared can never disappear again, having once been divinely embodied cannot again be dissolved."

In the long conversation concerning the Church and revelation, which Eckermann, not without art, has edited and placed at the end of his book, Goethe gives the highest expression of what Jesus is to him: "If I am asked whether it is in my nature to pay him devout reverence, I say, Certainly! I bow before him as the divine manifestation of the highest principle of morality. If I am asked whether it is in my nature to revere the sun, I again say, Certainly! For it is likewise a manifestation of the highest being, and, indeed, the most awe-inspiring which we children of earth are allowed to behold."

It can be seen from these last words that Goethe got his religion more from nature than from history and from Jesus. The mysterious and overwhelming that comes to birth in man was not so strong to him as the mystic revelation in nature. In Jesus he saw essentially a teacher of morality. At least Goethe could not feel the divine that overawes in man with the same fervour as that which spoke to him so powerfully from the stars, from the maternal instinct of the animal, or the form and growth of plants. Even supposing that Eckermann has to some extent rationalised his master's thought, it cannot be incorrect that this long conversation began with the confession of a religion of reason. "There is the point of view of a sort of primitive religion, a religion of Nature and pure reason, a religion of divine origin. This will always be the same, and will last and prevail as long as divinely endowed beings exist."

New generations had to come to give us the deeper understanding for history and the spirit of man, and to teach us that reason is not something that persists always at the same level, but something eternally new, young, and growing. It grows in the minds of the great seers, the discoverers of truths: and what is most valuable is not that which is simply common to them all, but rather the personal trait, the new glimmer of light, the

particular saying: such individual growth is that shining ray by which, along the dark path in the valley, we are led into eternal light.

Around the aged Goethe sprang up that which Herder and he had sown. The inspiration of history and the deep appreciation of the organic life of humanity, with which the Romantic period presented us, is the fulfilment of the promise that lay in Herder and Goethe. They had revealed not only the song of the people, but also the people themselves. Treasures undreamed of came to light. All branches of historical science blossomed out wonderfully. The old enchanted horn of folk-lore sounded again: song and legend lacked neither collectors nor interpreters full of inner understanding and love. Mythology, religion, and the primæval history of Occident and Orient were rescued from the grave and the dreariness in which the Enlightenment had buried them, and this revival brought with it a strange charm. With this breath of inspiration and this wave of enthusiasm concerning everything living, Goethe's perception in Faust could now for the first time be understood and its truth be seen.

> "How all things live and work, and ever blending,
> Weave one vast whole from Being's ample range!
> How powers celestial, ringing and descending,
> Their golden buckets ceaseless interchange!
> Their flight on rapture-breathing pinions winging,
> From heaven to earth their genial influence bringing,
> Through the wild sphere their chimes melodious ringing."

Hegel's logical world-poem is only a statement in philosophical terminology of this prophetic dream of the Romantic period. Even to-day we are still influenced by the force and the triumphant joy with which this first organic view of life filled the minds of men.

The spirit of this Idealism and this worship of Nature can be seen with all its defects in the thought of one who may be considered the greatest American thinker of the century: Ralph Waldo Emerson. Essentially meditative and a lover of solitude, he was so optimistic that he seems hardly to have felt the ordinary

griefs of mankind. Too much under the influence of the Absolute Idealism that arose in Germany chiefly after Kant, his optimism is based on a type of pantheism which resembles that of Goethe. We seek in vain in his Journals to find signs of a man who had met pains and troubles and had passed through them after great inner conflicts. Quiet thought and reflection, not upon individual things but general ideas, is what we find recorded here far more than emotions. He knows neither the careful study of the Natural Sciences nor of history and its documents, yet he is comprehensively sympathetic with Nature and deeply interested in human life. For him, in contrast with Carlyle, ideas are more than persons: ideas take the higher rank. His Idealism determines his attitude to history, Christianity, and to Jesus. "Do not imagine," he says in his Journal for 1840, "that the Universe is somewhat so vague and aloof that a man cannot be willing to die for it. If that lives, I live. I am the Universe. The Universe is the externalisation of God."

In the main, Emerson never gets free from this worship of abstract general ideas, but some few passages show the influence of the later movement to place emphasis on personality and humanity. Nevertheless he challenges the personalistic position, making special reference to Christianity. "The objection to popular Christianity is a philosophical one. It is in the nature of things that persons can never usurp in our minds the authority of ideas. Every man is at last in his purest thought an Idealist, and puts all persons at an infinite distance from him; as every moralist is at last in his purest thought an optimist. Now Christianity goes to invest persons with the rights of ideas, which is absurd."

At the end of the century we have seen these "rights of ideas" cease to impress: and it was an American writer, William James, who was the chief antagonist to such a worship. Ideas, as we know them, are found in personal consciousness. Though they have a reference beyond themselves, the ideas are something less than the thinker. It is the personal consciousness, which is more than ideas,—emotions and will,—that is essentially real.

Again, the actual personal relationship in society, in friendship and in love, is what we "feel" to be the best that life gives. Love and friendship is a fundamental relationship of realities, not simply of ideas: and that, too, is the essence of Christianity—the relationship between a personal "Father" and personal "sons." To those who will not turn from concrete experiences for a feast of ideas, such a position is by no means "absurd," as Emerson calls it. The movement of thought through Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer, Lotze, Ritschl has been away from abstractions to a recognition of the "rights" of personality.

When he turns to history, Emerson fails to find there the ideal of man that he seeks. "The great fault of history is that it does not portray man for me. It presents me with an Alaric or a Bourbon, with fighters or lawmakers, but it does not satisfy this great ideal which we contain or which contains us." As might be expected, the picture that Emerson gives us of Jesus is very indistinct. He draws nothing with clear lines: in all his work there is the diffuseness of general ideas. He does not represent Jesus in any concrete situations; his methods are hardly at all empirical. "How strange that Jesus should stand at the head of history, the first character in the world without a doubt, but the unlikeliest of all men, one would say, to take such a rank in such a world! Well then, as if to indemnify themselves for this vast concession to truth, they must put up the militia—Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, etc.—into the next place of proclamation. Yet it is a pit to Olympus, this fame by that, or by the place of Homer, Pindar, and Plato." Nothing in history can parallel the influence of Jesus. After such a statement we should expect some account of this influence, but Emerson's whole work suffers from the intellectualist defect that we have already referred to. Jesus was "a pure intellect exclusively devoted to this class of abstractions," that is, those of truth, justice, love. Men have esteemed Jesus as the bringer of the hope of the immortality of the soul, yet he said nothing of such persistence. Devoted as Emerson was to Nature, and pantheistic as was his philosophical outlook, he saw the sublimity and great attraction of Jesus for

men. "Newton had a better master than sun and stars. He heard of heaven and he philosophised, and, after travelling through mazes of the universe, he returned to bow his laurelled head at the feet of Jesus of Nazareth." Nevertheless, "the belief in Christianity that now prevails is the unbelief of men. They will have Christ for a Lord and not for a brother. Christ preaches the greatness of man, but we hear only of the greatness of Christ." Finally, "the history of Jesus is only the history of every man written large. The names he bestows on Jesus belong to himself."

During the last forty years of the century, English thought and scientific reseach made rapid strides; before that date German thought in nearly every sphere was far ahead of it. Thus, though Thomas Carlyle lived until 1881, we can best consider his work in the review of the transition period which led through the Romantic reaction to the scientific study of history. The conscientious labour with which he gathered and examined his material undoubtedly made Carlyle one of the pioneers of the new historical movement, whatever may be said as to the degree of scientific accuracy he attained as judged by our present standards. But Carlyle also has a special interest at this point in that it was he, more than any other, who revealed to Englishmen the thought of Germany, especially that of Goethe and Schiller.

If Carlyle did not pursue the study of history with the accuracy of observation and carefulness of judgment known to historical science to-day, he helped to break away from the pragmatical study of history of the eighteenth century. Whether dealing with masses or with individuals, he made them live before us; he made history not the mere statement of evidence, but the reconstruction and reanimation of the past. In his pages the past is a living thing, because he strove to find the real springs of conduct, and to recognise the earnestness of those of whom he wrote. And this brought him to the centre of human life, the soul of the individual. For him, ultimately, it is the throbbing individual souls, with their activity, longings, and strivings, that are the forces of history. Even society is only these individuals

in different stages of co-operation, in some sort of unison and harmony. From this contact with a living humanity, he fought against the barren superficialities of the preceding century, and its offspring "scientific" materialism and the mechanistic theories of the universe. Englishmen have passed too quickly over the work of Carlyle. The social problems of the latter half of the century and the rise of the important study of sociology, have led many to underestimate the significance of the individual elements of which society is composed. Further, the study of history has been too much influenced by the methods of the Natural Sciences; we strive simply for the exact statement of fact and fail to grasp the living whole.

The teaching of Carlyle is idealistic, not the narrowly intellectual Idealism of the schools, but one which arouses deep emotions and leads to endeavour and sacrifice. In this Idealism religion occupies a central place. In opposition to the Agnosticism that was becoming fashionable among students of Natural Science he preached faith. "There is in man a quite indestructible reverence for whatsoever holds of heaven." Yet the reality of things, the soul of the universe, cannot be grasped in our ever-changing formulas. In *Sartor Resartus* we are taught that in religious conception we have to do with symbols—valuable, indeed, but far from the essence of things. External forms are but the tattered rags hiding the real affinities. "But thou as yet standest in no Temple; joinest in no psalm worship; feelest well that, where there is no ministering priest the people perish? Be of comfort! Thou are not alone, if thou have faith. Spake we not of a communion of Saints, unseen yet not unreal, accompanying and brotherlike embracing thee, so thou be worthy? Their heroic sufferings rise up melodiously together to Heaven, out of all lands, and out of all times, as a second *Miserere*; their heroic actions also, as a boundless everlasting psalm of triumph. Neither say that thou hast now no symbol of the Godlike: is not Immensity a Temple; is not man's History and men's History a perpetual Evangel? Listen, and for organ music thou wilt ever, as of old, hear the Morning Stars sing together." The

universe and men—not simply ideas—are the symbols of the divine. "Highest of all symbols are wherein the artist or poet has risen into prophet, and all men can recognise a present God and worship the same: I mean religious symbols. Various enough have been such religious symbols, what we call religions; as men stood in this stage or another, and could worse or better body forth the godlike; some symbols with a transient intrinsic worth, many with only an extrinsic. If thou ask to what height man has carried it in this manner, look on our divinest symbol, on Jesus of Nazareth, and his life and biography, and what followed therefrom. Higher has human thought not yet reached: this is Christianity and Christendom: a symbol of quite perennial infinite character; whose significance will ever demand to be anew inquired into, and anew made manifest."

It is in persons, in men who have called forth the respect and reverence, and raised the ideals and feelings of humanity, that the highest symbols are to be found: the heroes. Their force is real only if they have been real beings of history; fictitious personages cannot arouse such movements. The smallness of the beginning is of no consequence. "Let any one bethink him how impressive the smallest historical *fact* may become, as contrasted with the grandest *fictitious event*; what an incalculable force lies for us in this consideration: The thing which I here hold imaged in my mind did actually occur; was in very truth an element in the system of the All, whereof I too form part: had therefore, and has, through all time an authentic being; is not a dream, but a reality."

The hero, as fact not fiction, being the highest symbol, hero-worship was the primary creed, has been the secondary and the tertiary, and will be the ultimate creed of mankind, indestructible, changing in form but in essence unchangeable, "whereon politics, religions, loyalties and all highest human interests have been and can be built, as on a rock that will endure while man endures!" In his lectures on "Heroes and Hero-worship," perhaps because of influences received in his early religious training, and in deference to the beliefs of his audience, Carlyle did not take Jesus as one

of the heroes to discuss. He, however, made it clear that his own attitude to Jesus, and the attitude he thought due to him, was that of hero-worship. He hinted that we have obscured the reality of Jesus with our dogmas and our merely external worship. "I say great men are still admirable; I say there is at bottom nothing else admirable! No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man. It is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's life. Religion, I find, stands upon it; not Paganism only, but far higher and truer religions, all religion hitherto known. Hero-worship, heartfelt, prostrate admiration, submission; burning, boundless, for a noblest godlike form of man—is not that the germ of Christianity itself? The greatest of all heroes is One—whom we do not name here! Let sacred silence meditate that sacred matter; you will find it the ultimate perfection of a principle extant throughout man's whole history on earth." "Man of Genius? Thou hast small notion meseems,—of what a Man of Genius is. Read in thy New Testament and elsewhere, if . . . with miserable vortices of Cant, now several centuries old, thy New Testament is not all bedimmed for thee. Canst thou read in thy New Testament at all? The highest Man of Genius, knowest thou him: Godlike and a god to this hour? . . . How with thy rubrics and dalmatics, and clothwebs and cobwebs, and with thy stupidities and grovelling baseheartedness hast thou hidden the Holiest into all but invisibility! . . . Genius is the inspired gift of God! It is the clearer presence of God Most High in a man. Dim, potential in all men; in this man it has become clear, actual. So says John Milton, who ought to be a judge; so answer him the voices of all ages and all worlds. Wouldst thou commune with such a one? Be his real peer, then: does that lie in thee? Know thyself and thy real and apparent place, and act in some noble conformity with all that." Thus did Carlyle recognise and state clearly what Goethe but hinted at.

Carlyle never drew for us the supreme hero, and we believe it is our loss. Nevertheless we can conjecture that had he done so,

the result would have been distinctly an idealised figure. He had not entered sufficiently into the methods of exactitude and objectivity necessary for a true representation. We have in his works some references to Christianity which show us this, at the same time as giving the chief characteristics of his conception of Christianity. The Christian religion "must ever be regarded as the crowning glory, or rather the soul and life of our whole modern culture." "The Christian religion . . . in one form or another will endure through all time." "Christianity," he said, "is the Worship of Sorrow." "Knowest thou that 'Worship of Sorrow,' the temple thereof founded some eighteen centuries ago, now lies in ruins, overgrown with jungle, the habitation of doleful creatures; nevertheless, in a low crypt, arched out of falling fragments, thou findest the altar still there and its sacred lamp perennially burning." "To the Worship of Sorrow ascribe what origin and genesis thou pleasest, has not that worship originated and been generated, is it not here, feel it in thy heart, and then say whether it is of God. This is belief, all else is opinion, for which latter whoso will, let him worry and be worried."

Such a conception of Christianity is indeed entirely inadequate, is, in fact, misleading. Sorrow, however important a factor in the deepening of some men, is not an object of Christian worship. Further, not sorrow but that loving trust in God, that constant holding to the ideal, even in the circumstances that bring the greatest sorrow—that is Christianity; and this is the overcoming, the rising above sorrow. In sorrow, and this transcending of it, we rise to heights and reach depths far greater than the level of the superficial life of physical comfort. All this, however, is not the worship of sorrow: it is trust and hope.

That Carlyle did not feel the lighter side of Christianity is not surprising to one who remembers the nature of his own character. He does not seem to have appreciated the fact that "love" does not mean sentimental treatment. "To guide scoundrels by 'love,' that is a false woof I take it, a method that will not hold together; hardly for the flower of men will love

alone do; and for the sediment and scoundrelism of men it has not even a chance to do." "Does the Christian religion or any religion prescribe love of scoundrels then? I hope it prescribes a healthy hatred of scoundrels;—otherwise what am I, in heaven's name, to make of it? Me for one, it will not serve as a religion on those strange terms. Just hatred of scoundrels, I say, fixed, irreconcilable enmity inexorable to the enemies of God: this and not love for them, and incessant whitewashing and dressing and cockering of them, must, if you look into it, be the backbone of any human religion whatever." Christianity obviously means love of the good and opposition to the evil—opposition as definite as that of Jesus to the evil of the Pharisees. But Carlyle seems to have misunderstood the command to love our enemies. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." So, if it is necessary to take severe measures with "scoundrels" we may and should, but the question depends entirely on our spirit and motive. The motive should be love and a sincere desire for the triumph of the good. The love taught and shown by Jesus was not an enfeebling antinomian sentimentalism: it calls for courage and fortitude on the part of a man to reform his own nature. All real development is self-development. The question is, therefore, whether kindliness and encouragement from others is not better than severity, even in the case of the "scoundrel." To have taught that it is, is not that unique in the teaching of Jesus?

The early nineteenth century, in spite of the prevailing Romanticism, found an English poet to grasp the spirit of its realism, and at the same time to see through the hollowness of that general idea of Jesus that he was a divine being who in an external manner came down to earth and in a magical manner saved men by his death. Shelley was brought into contact with this wide general opinion of the masses and of the more ignorant of Protestant and of Catholic ministers of religion, by his repulsion from the sordidness of the leading motive of the age, the race for wealth. Men of his age, as of our own, required to be saved from that; in what direction lies salvation? He

described the state of human struggle through history, and more especially in his own day:

"Commerce has set the mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enslaving power,
Upon a shining ore, and called it gold;
Before whose image bow the vulgar great,
The vainly rich, the miserable proud,
The mob of peasants, nobles, priests, and kings,
And with blind feelings reverence the power
That grinds them to the dust of misery.
But in the temple of their hireling hearts
Gold is a living god, and rules in scorn
All earthly things but virtue."

In what way lies hope and escape? Shelley thus depicts the Christian scheme, as popularly conceived:

"One way remains.
I will beget a son, and he shall bear
The sins of all the world. He shall arise
In an unnoticed corner of the earth,
And there shall die upon a cross, and purge
The universal crime; so that the few
On whom my grace descends, those who are marked
As vessels to the honour of their God,
May credit this strange sacrifice and save
Their souls alive. Millions shall live and die
Who ne'er shall call upon their saviour's name
But unredeemed go to the gaping grave.
Thousands shall deem it an old woman's tale
Such as the nurse frightens babes withal:
These in a gulf of anguish and of flame
Shall curse their reprobation endlessly;
Yet tenfold pangs shall force them to avow
Even on their beds of torment where they howl,
My honour, and the justice of their doom.
What then avail their virtuous deeds, their thoughts
Of purity, with radiant genius bright,
Or lit with human reason's earthly ray?
Many are called, but few will I elect."

Whether Shelley really supposed he was giving here a true account of what Christianity is, or whether for artistic purposes he was presenting in a form so as to bring out its absurdity the popular

traditional "caricature" of Christianity, it is difficult to say. It is one of the few passages in which Shelley mentions the subject in his poetry, and it is in agreement with his attack upon the idea of hell, in his essay on Christianity. His mode of presentation implies his scorn and criticism of the position, and with that we will not quarrel. All we can say is that the idea is not the teaching of Jesus as we understand it from our research. The ordinary view of Jesus, as not simply "Son of God" but as "God, the Son," is also criticised in his description of the coming of Jesus.

> "Humbly he came,
> Veiling his horrible Godhead in the shape
> Of man, scorned by the world, his name unheard
> Save by the rabble of his native town,
> Even as a parish demagogue. He led
> The crowd; he taught them justice, truth, and peace,
> In semblance: but he lit within their souls
> The quenchless flames of zeal, and blessed the sword
> He brought on earth to satiate with the blood
> Of truth and freedom his malignant soul.
> At length his mortal frame was led to death.
> I stood beside him: on the torturing cross
> No pain assailed his unterrestrial sense,
> And yet he groaned."

Allowance may be made for a certain revulsion of feeling against the blasphemies of the narrowly orthodox, but it is impossible to justify the use of such terms as "his horrible Godhead," and "his malignant soul," even with regard to the popular view of the traditional doctrine of God and hell.

Shelley had respect for the person and teachings of Jesus, the character of whom is known to us in spite of the channels through which the knowledge has come. "They have left sufficiently clear indications of the genuine character of Jesus Christ to rescue it for ever from the imputations cast upon it by their ignorance and fanaticism. We discover that he is the enemy of oppression and falsehood; that he is the advocate of equal justice; that he is neither disposed to sanction bloodshed nor deceit, under whatever pretences their practice may be vindicated. We discover that he was a man of weak and majestic demeanour, calm

in danger; of natural and simple thoughts and habits; beloved to adoration by his adherents; unmoved, solemn, and severe." "He said no more than the most excellent philosophers have felt and expressed—that virtue is its own reward." "God is represented by Jesus Christ as the Power from which, and through which, the streams of all that is excellent and delightful flow; the Power which models, as they pass, all the elements of this mixed universe to the purest and most perfect shape which it belongs to their nature to assume." And Shelley's anger rises against those who have represented this God as one who had "devised a scheme whereby the body shall live after its apparent dissolution, and be rendered capable of indefinite torture." He sees Jesus fighting against the materialism that he himself feels to be so base. Jesus "exposes, with the passionate rhetoric of enthusiastic love towards all human beings, the miseries and mischiefs of that system which makes all things subservient to the subsistence of the material frame of man. He warns them that no man can serve two masters—God and Mammon; that it is impossible at once to be high-minded and just and wise, and to comply with the accustomed forms of human society, seek power, wealth, or empire, either from the idolatry of habit, or as the direct instruments of sensual gratification."

Shelley did not arrive at an appreciation of the true nature of the religion of Jesus or the significance of his personality: he remained at a position little removed from that of the eighteenth century. He had a faith in virtue for those who fight on; he had his view of what the great things of life are; great things not merely in success, but through pain and sorrow.

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope, till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
This alone is Life, Joy, Empire, Victory!"

Far as this is from the socially conceived kingdom of God with its active trust in a divine Father, it is still a forceful individualistic assertion of power to follow the good wherever it is to be found: it is an abandonment of the conventional lack of personal life to mount upward on individual sincerity and conflict. Humanity has to achieve in and for itself its own future. It is a gospel of humanity that Shelley has in mind: his faith is in the human spirit. Virtue, given by him without further definition, is the rock upon which man is to build.

> "Yet, human spirit, bravely hold thy course.
> Let virtue teach thee firmly to pursue
> The gradual paths to an aspiring change:
> For birth and life and death, and that strange state
> Before the naked soul has found its home
> All tend to perfect happiness, and urge
> The restless wheels of being on their way,
> Whose flashing spokes, instinct with infinite life,
> Bicker and burn to gain their destined goal.
> For birth but wakes the spirit to the sense
> Of outward shows, whose unexperienced shape
> New modes of passion to its frame may lend;
> Life is its state of action, and the store
> Of all events is aggregated there
> That variegate the eternal universe;
> Death is a gate of dreariness and gloom
> That leads to azure isles and beaming skies,
> And happy regions of eternal hope.
> Therefore, O Spirit, fearlessly bear on!"

All this, though it contains the sounds of the coming view of a progressive creative evolution, is in its attitude to religion but the position of the eighteenth century, modified and widened by the spirit of Romantic Reaction.

However, from the fascinating view represented in the passage from *Faust* grew up among the thinkers of the Romantic period the final thing: a true appreciation of religion. He who lives his life so that he has the infinite ever in view understands the pious in all religions. He who tries to see the history of the world from the centre, and who unites man to man by mystic bonds, goes out to find God, even if he only arrives, as did

Friedrich Schlegel, at an "Idea of Ideas." This Romantic writer has understood the restless life of religion as in the deepest sense a life full of force and youth. "In religion there is always morning and the light of the dawn." "Religion is absolutely unfathomable. In it one can but probe ever deeper into the infinite." "Religion is not merely a part of education, an aspect of human life, but the centre of all; of everything, the first and the highest, the absolutely primordial."

It was a real loss that none of these men had the eyes to see what tasks lay ahead: to seek and to reveal Jesus in the light of such love and religion. Jesus had been painted for most of them in the dull drab of Rationalism. Perhaps they were neither penetrative nor strong enough for the task. Their hearts were occupied with a wonderfully acute allegorical interpretation of dogma, and many cultivated an enthusiasm for the Church with its mediæval beauty. A number of them became converts to the Church of the Pope, in which there is a more mediæval type of life. The evangelical Protestant thought it necessary to present the ancient ideas of sacrifice and reconciliation, and the crucifixion as the great secret of salvation from weariness. So from Pietism we come by way of Hamann and Stilling to Romantic theology, the last representatives of which have continued to our own time.

Nor did Schleiermacher, the great theologian of the Romantic period, perform the task that was awaiting him. He introduced, it is true, *The Life of Jesus* into his scheme of theological lectures in the year 1819, and gave this course again and again, making a great impression upon his hearers. The remains of these lectures, published in 1864, thirty years after his death, were so imperfectly preserved, and came at such a time, that they could signify nothing more to us. The sentences that he devoted to Jesus in his *Dogmatic Theology* in 1821, are only important for the theologian. There is thus all the more cause for regret that the *Discourses on Religion to its Cultured Despisers* (1799) did not even once state the problem clearly. The attention given to religion as such reduces the space given to the historical religions, especially to Christianity and to Jesus.

Schleiermacher did not attain to the formation of a definite conception of Jesus from the point of view of his new interpretation of religion. Opposition to Rationalism and an attempt to hold fast the dogma of the Church, spiritualised in its inner meaning, take up the few lines that he gave to Jesus. "When, in the mutilated delineations of his life, I contemplate the sacred image of him who has been the author of the noblest that there has yet been in religion, it is not the purity of his moral teaching, which but expressed what all men, who have come to consciousness of their spiritual nature, have with him in common, and which, neither from its expression nor its beginning can have greater value, that I admire: and it is not the individuality of his character, the close union of high power with touching gentleness, for every noble, simple spirit must in a special situation display some traces of a great character. All those things are merely human. But the truly divine element is the glorious clearness to which the great idea he came to exhibit, attained in his soul. This idea was, that all that is finite requires a higher mediation to be in accord with the Deity, and that for man under the power of the finite and the particular, and too ready to imagine the divine itself in this form, salvation is only to be found in redemption."

In the denial of the significance of the moral teaching of Jesus may be seen his almost contemptuous opposition to Rationalism. But in this not only is he unjust to Jesus, but he is himself caught in the meshes of Rationalism—he himself affirms a "natural" morality in the same sense as the Rationalists. That he underestimates the personal life of Jesus is due to the same thing. The idea—presented so forcibly, of the essential and the divine in Jesus—Schleiermacher could only derive from the gospel of John, which has already introduced the idea of reconciliation into the life of Jesus. He always set a low value upon the first three gospels. Nevertheless, in the interpretation of dogma, even of that having reference to Jesus himself, he indeed made an essential step beyond the position of Rationalism. He did not find the essential in Jesus in his morality, but in the actually to be ex-

perienced power of his personality to bring us into union with God.

Redemption is experienced in Jesus. By redemption Schleiermacher did not mean the same as the ancient dogma; he thought rather of the persistency and the power of the consciousness of God that Jesus had, which he could give to us the weak, and by which he could redeem us.

Jesus did not merely reveal the idea of Christianity, but, for Schleiermacher, he was also the fulfilment of the idea, though not in the narrow sense that no other mediator might be acknowledged, and that the religious opinions and feeling imparted by him alone were to be taken as the whole extent of religion. No, the whole of the history of Christianity, with its manifold expressions of the idea, was willed and promised by him. In a similar manner Schleiermacher maintained an interpretation of the divinity of Christ, seen (once more to his injustice) not at all in his morality, but in his piety and his certainty of God. "When he, I will not say, was faced by the brute force of his enemies without hope of being able to live any longer—that is too utterly mean—but when he was about to be condemned to perpetual silence, without seeing any external organisation for community of life among his disciples really established, to contrast with the festive show of the old corrupt conception which offered strong and persistent opposition to him, when, surrounded by all that reverence could inspire and submission demand, by all that from his childhood he had been taught to honour, himself supported by nothing except the feeling of courage, without heed (before the High Priest) to speak that Yes, the greatest thing that a dying man has said: this was the most glorious apotheosis, and no divinity can be more certain than that which proclaims itself thus."

In spite of the new tendency and the new outlook, no picture of Jesus was produced by the Romantic movement and the Romantic theology. The most precious thing that was offered in this connection were the hymns to Jesus which Novalis sang into the hearts of the German people; perhaps a little too sentimental

and sweet, and not born from the full depth of the new life, but, since Paul Gerhardt, Johan Frank, and the Wesleys the first sounds of a true, popular poetry of Jesus. In the following verse, the prevailing thoughts are expressed better probably than Schleiermacher himself could have expressed them:

"O, my Saviour, my Deliverer,
Son of Man, full of Love and Might.
Thou hast an all-consuming Fire
In my Spirit set alight.
Through Thee I see the Heaven open
As my soul's true Fatherland,
Now springs up Faith and Joy within,
And Hope, O God, with Thee to stand."

The Romantic movement did not bear the fruit for the general deepening of the spiritual life that we might have expected from it. True, the great revival of religion that Friedrich Schlegel had predicted came. But when Schleiermacher published the third edition of his *Discourses* in 1821, he had already seen that the beautiful hopes that he and his friends had placed on them had not been fulfilled. Reaction in its worse representatives was striving to lead the newly awakened religious life into that path of external orthodoxy and political legitimacy that roused free spiritual minds to anger. That Schleiermacher did not belong to these cunning politicians, with whom hate would often like to count him, but was only an anxious man from whom God thought good to deny the finishing of his work, is indicated by his sad words in the third edition of the *Discourses*. The men who thus embittered the declining years of Schleiermacher's life are to blame that the newly-inspired religion never became a possession of the people. It became that first in Catholicism, for in it religion is at least not the handmaid of states and princes, of provinces and ministers, of castes and classes, but of Church and pope. What had then begun in magnificence and with the glory of a new day quickly died out. Embittered and roused to anger, men turned away again with the feeling that by these temples they would be robbed of their own life in the present, and of that of their children in the future.

With the supreme irony of history the Romantic spirit nevertheless helped in the creation of two works upon the life of Jesus which produced the greatest opposition to the reaction in the spiritual life of the nineteenth century, and became the greatest incentive to intensive study of the life of Jesus. The first was the *Life of Jesus* by David Fr. Strauss, a magnificent attempt to apply to the sources of the life of Jesus the new historical view as it had been developed and carried out by Niebuhr in application to the early history of Rome. Between the Romantic writers and Strauss came not only Niebuhr, but also the force of that abstract development of concepts due to Hegel, who seemed to enjoy beautiful things only when he had got them labelled and classified. All that blossomed forth of the nature of miracles around the life of Jesus was recognised by Strauss and accordingly gathered together, but he did not reconstruct the life itself as one of the Romantic writers might have done it. In this, Renan was much more the heir of Romanticism. In his *Life of Jesus* the miraculous certainly does not bloom, but that which the imagination of a people and romantic feelings could discover in Jesus undoubtedly lives in his little book.

CHAPTER II.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON THE LIFE OF JESUS.

David Friedrich Strauss.

THE patient work of generations had almost imperceptibly come to maturity, and the harvest was almost ripe. A bold reaper came to carry the fruit home. A young inspired and inspiring lecturer, a teacher of philosophy rather than a historian, ventured to believe that the time had come when all religion was to be destroyed; the hour when the sacred writings and the sacred history no longer satisfied the consciousness of the age, and the claim of religion to be absolute and divine must be abandoned in face of the advance of historical and scientific research. According to Strauss, the Enlightenment had really achieved this, but he saw that its own conception was itself in turn superseded. A new mode of conception was necessary, and to develop this was the object of his *Life of Jesus* "critically examined," which he published in two volumes in 1835. Strauss wished to make use of the new historical knowledge for the explanation of the traditional material. He wished to do for the history of Christian origins what Niebuhr had done for the early accounts of Roman history: bring them nearer to our understanding, and explain them as the free creation of the imagination of the people, as myth and legend. Should it be contended that Christianity arose at a time when there were historians, and therefore that it did not fall in the prehistorical myth-forming period, Strauss answers rightly: "In the ancient world, that is, in the East, the religious tendency was so preponderant, the knowledge of Nature so limited, and the

law of connection between earthly finite beings was so loosely regarded, that at every link there was a disposition to pass at once to the idea of the infinite, and to see God as the immediate cause of every change in Nature or the human mind. It was in this mental condition that biblical history was written." Even to-day, among men who feel thus, myths and legends arise; as any one may see who casts a glance upon the history of the saints of the Catholic Church.

Strauss goes on to ask how this poetry might be distinguished from real history. He proposes the following criteria:

1. An account is not historical when it is irreconcilable with the known and universal laws which govern the course of events. Accordingly to all credible experience the absolute cause (God) never disturbs the chain of secondary causes by single arbitrary acts of interposition; the absolute cause is manifested rather in the production of the unity of finite causalities and in their interaction. Divine apparitions, voices from heaven, miracles, prophecies, appearances of angels and of devils, do not belong to the realm of credible experience. Where, further, in any account the natural and otherwise always observed order and sequence in which events occur gives place to overwhelming catastrophes, or if psychological laws otherwise quite usual to us are absolutely broken, the historicity of the record is open to grave suspicion. To be regarded as historically valid a narrative must neither be inconsistent with itself nor in contradiction with other accounts.

2. An account may be positively asserted to be legendary or poetical, partly by its form, partly by its substance. If the form be poetical; if the actors converse in hymns, in a more diffuse and elevated strain than might be expected from their training or their situations, then these discourses at least cannot be accepted as historical. If the contents of a narrative are in striking agreement with certain ideas current within the region in which the narrative originated, which themselves seem to be formed from preconceived opinions rather than from actual

experience, then, according to the circumstances, it is more or less probable that such a narrative had a mythical origin. Strauss knew quite well that at that time these criteria might not be applied in a mechanical manner to the lives of great men, and that all of them have simply relative value from the point of view of proof. Only in cases where several such signs are found together can a conclusion drawn from them be accepted as probable or certain. In particular, the difficult question has to be settled, whether a record in which there are legendary traits may be said to be entirely unhistorical, or merely in those traits. To separate the historical elements from the fine web of legend, which weaves itself around all human history, needs delicate and practised hands.

Equipped with these criteria, and paying the utmost attention to all the rules of carefulness, Strauss turned to the traditional life of Jesus in the gospels, and with untiring patience examined them paragraph by paragraph. With great scholarliness, he drew into his study and mentioned everything that the criticism of previous centuries, from the dying ancient philosophy up to Reimarus and Paulus, had brought forward, and everything that had been said in vindication of the traditional account. It has often been thought possible to declare Strauss' work void, simply on the ground that he wrote his book from the standpoint of Hegelianism. Such a contention is quite wrong, if it is supposed that thereby anything has been said concerning the essential parts of the book. Hegel's influence is clearly evident only in the quite short final paragraph. The two thick volumes are in the main the result of quiet, technical, and scholarly work.

We shall try to show, by giving an example, Strauss' method of criticism in practice, and the result to which it led him. We can but sketch the barest outline; no adequate impression of the remarkable erudition of the young scholar can be given. We shall not follow the order adopted by Strauss himself, but shall work on a parallel with the scheme of principles of criticism given above.

The narratives of the birth of Jesus given by Matthew and Luke, and that of John the Baptist given by Luke, are permeated with the hidden charm of the miraculous. The heaven opened, and the power of heaven became incarnated; the angels came down to holy and saintly men on earth. Assemblies of heavenly beings sang with the pious shepherds in the fields; a mysterious star appeared in the sky, and as a guiding sign led the magi from the far wonder-lands of the East to the crib of the child that the sacred oracle had foretold. The angel of God appeared to the father in the night, and bade him flee from the malicious king, who, in order to kill his predicted rival, had planned to kill the child and had shed the blood of the innocent babes of Bethlehem. When the king was dead, the angel of God again appeared to the father, and by several dreams guided him to his new home.

This world of miracles and angels, of dreams and wandering stars, says Strauss, is not the real world. It cannot be proved that angels do not exist: nevertheless our experience of such beings is not at the level of our knowledge of the world, and so those who do believe it should produce reasons for their belief in the existence of angels, and not *vice versa.* The most remarkable thing is that these beings were active on the most insignificant occasions: yet now, on the contrary, even on the most important occasions their presence is unknown. For the old belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, upon which alone faith in angels is usually based, it is fatal that the angels, in particular, the archangel, begin to play a great rôle only in the later books of the Old Testament, such as the book of Daniel, or the Apocrypha, while the heathen people had already much earlier an extended belief in angels. "Were these ideas false so long as they were only found amongst other peoples, and did they become true simply when they passed to the Jews? Or were they true from the beginning, and did the idolatrous peoples thus discover an important truth earlier than the people of God?" If so, the idea of a special revelation to Israel seems superfluous. If, in order to lessen this difficulty, it is contended

that there was a revelation of God also among the Gentiles, the point of view that accepts supernatural miracles is really abandoned, and we are free to choose by the exercise of criticism; for, amongst so many conflicting religions, not everything can be revealed.

If we adopt this procedure we cannot consider it a fit conception of God to think of him as a human king in royal state. That, however, is the ancient idea of God. The new conceptions of God, that of the Lord of worlds of the Rationalists, and that of Goethe and the new philosophy, allowed of no secondary agent to His activity, of no "naturalistically represented" supernatural messengers and servants, such as were common when God was imagined as an old man upon a golden throne in the crystal heaven.

The defenders of the old, the so-called "supernaturalists," contended that their position had not been shown untenable. but they could not cut themselves off entirely from the modern conception of the world. They attempted to make compromises. So the question was asked: If there exists in nature a scale of beings, rising from the lowest forms of body without spirit to the highest forms of body and spirit, may we not conceive a still higher group of beings of spirit without body or with a quite fine body? To this Strauss rightly replied that neither the usual ancient conception nor the biblical idea of angels would be restored by this view; the angels are in part gigantic forces as "the roar of mighty voices." If, on the other hand, they are described simply as manifestations of the power of the immanent God, that is no more than the heavenly powers of Goethe: poetry. Should it be maintained that it is quite intelligible that, at the time when "the word became flesh and dwelt amongst us," there should have been manifestations from the spiritual world as never at other times, Strauss replies that even thus we do not arrive at the much more massive representations of the Bible. He contends, further, that what has been peculiar to such great times has not been the descent of angels, but the rising of great men.

And the "star in the east"! In what way must we think of stars to suppose that one should announce the birth of the king of the Jews? Only through astrology, which has long been recognised as a superstition. Is it to be supposed that this deceitful art was right just on this one occasion? What sort of star would that be that could pursue a long course and finally stand still over a house? Such a star is at least not to be found in the realm of nature.

It is not this world of miracle alone which is noteworthy, but also the form of the narratives in which the great miracle of the birth of Jesus is reported to us. The gospels of Matthew and Luke, which alone contain accounts, contradict one another in almost every particular. The greatest differences, as, for example, that only Luke records the birth of John the Baptist and the story of the angels and the shepherds, and that, on the other hand, Matthew records stories of the wise men and the murder of the innocents, might be tolerated if they did not give rise to irreconcilable contradictions.

In Matthew, Joseph plays the chief part in the whole story; while in Luke, Mary does so. Matthew states that the birth of Jesus was announced to Joseph in a dream in the night; Luke represents the news as having been imparted to Mary by an angel in open day. These two accounts cannot be really harmonised. For, according to Luke, must not Mary, when she knew this mystery, have kept silent until Joseph, seeing her condition, intended to break with her on the ground of her supposed infidelity, as Matthew records? The two evangelists do not seem to have known each other: here their narratives stand in gaping contradiction.

If the shepherds had spread everywhere the news of the appearance of the angels and of the mysterious child, as Luke says in chap. ii. 17 ff., how was it that no one in Jerusalem knew of the child, as must have been the case according to Matthew? Bethlehem is only a few hours away from Jerusalem. Why was it necessary for the star to guide the wise men to the hut (Matthew), if (Luke) everybody in Bethlehem knew the hut and the child? And with this knowledge, where was the necessity

for the murder of the infants? Luke says that the parents of Jesus, being compelled to travel on account of a census or tax, had come to Bethlehem; further, the child was brought publicly into the temple on the fortieth day and lauded by Hannah and Simeon as the Messiah: "And when they had accomplished all things that were according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth" (Luke ii. 39). With these tales the story of the murder of the innocents and of the flight into Egypt, which Matthew records, cannot be reconciled. We have therefore three possibilities:

1. The presentation in the temple lies between the visit of the wise men and the murder of the innocents. That, however, contradicts the letter of Matt. ii. 13: "Now when they were departed, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I tell thee: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him." But that did not mean: Go first to Jerusalem into the den of the lion. The flight must follow immediately upon the command; it does so in Matthew; it is only the addition of Luke's account that gives rise to the absurdity.

2. All that Matthew records might be placed before the presentation in the temple. But how is all that to have taken place in forty days: the journey of the wise men from the East, the flight into Egypt, the murder of the innocents, and the return from Egypt? The statement that Herod had all children up to two years old killed, tends to show that Matthew set down more than forty days for this story.

3. The most natural thing to do would be to place the whole narrative of Matthew after the forty days and the presentation in the temple; but then we are in contradiction with the passage of Luke quoted above (ii. 39), according to which the parents return at once from their journey to the town of Nazareth. Try as we will, the two accounts cannot be reconciled.

Again, the statement made by Luke that the home of Joseph and Mary was at Nazareth, and that Jesus was born during the

journey to Bethlehem, is inconsistent with that of Matthew, that the home of Joseph was at Bethlehem, and that he was guided by a special command from God to Nazareth only on his return from Egypt after the flight, and arrives at "a, to him up to that time seemingly foreign, city, called Nazareth."

The two genealogical accounts given in Matt. i. 1–17 and Luke iii. 23–38 are equally full of contradictions. According to Matthew, Joseph's father was called Jacob; according to Luke, Eli; and from that the tables are quite different one from the other: in Matthew's account we pass from Jacob along the royal line to Solomon; in Luke we go along a side line to David's son Nathan. The strange thing is that in between they coincide in Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, but even then so that Shealtiel's father and Zerubbabel's son are given differently. From the earliest times valiant attempts have been made to solve these contradictions, but entirely without result.

Lastly, the serious inconsistencies in respect of chronology must be mentioned. Matthew says that Jesus was born during the lifetime of Herod the Great: on the other hand, Quirinus, under whom, according to Luke, this event took place, was not Governor of Syria till ten years after the death of Herod; and further, at least during the lifetime of Herod, a Syrian governor had no authority in Palestine.

Beyond these two accounts, we find no trace in the New Testament that Jesus was known to have had a supernatural birth, although the later writers believed in a supernatural being in Jesus. If the accounts were true, it would be inconceivable that John the Baptist could doubt the Messiahship of Jesus, as he is related by Matthew (xi. 3) and Luke (vii. 19) to have done; for the two families were united in close bonds of friendship. And if we could overcome the difficulty that Luke himself calls Joseph the father of Jesus, and that the people of Nazareth call him the carpenter's son (Matt. xiii. 55; Luke iv. 22: our text of Mark is altered here, see vi. 3), it is still noteworthy that after the commencement of his public ministry even the family of Jesus thought and said that he was "beside himself," and wished

to take him back home (Mark iii. 21, cf. 31–35). How could Mary have forgotten the great things that took place at the birth of her child? The answer that Mary was not present, or that she was not in agreement with his brothers, is in contradiction to the words of Jesus which mention his mother. Would she continue silent about those events to his brothers, now that they were grown men, or at least, now that they wanted to apprehend him? Inconceivable.

No, these accounts of the birth of "the Son of God" are not history. They are "myths." Even their form shows that partly. Luke gives us long conversations between angels and men: his angels and saints speak in songs and hymns, which for the most part are drawn from the Old Testament.

The whole substance of these charming stories is derived from the Old Testament and the popular beliefs of the time. The evangelists had only to unite in one representation the different existing traits: in fact the picture arises of its own accord before the reader. With reference to the birth of John the Baptist, Zacharias and Elisabeth (Luke i. 7), like Abraham and Sarah when Isaac was promised to them, were "well stricken in years" (Gen. xviii. 11). That the father did not believe, and desired a sign in confirmation of the announcement, is related here (Luke i. 18) with almost the same words as Gen. xv. 8. The song of praise in Luke i. is taken almost word for word from the story of the birth of Samuel (1 Sam. ii.), who was in like manner a late-born child. The appearance of the angels and the statement that the boy should be a Nazarene who should drink no wine or intoxicant, are features also of the birth of Samson (Luke i. 15 ff.; cf. Judg. xiii. 5); both are holy from their birth. Again, the designation of the name at the time of the annunciation is an ancient feature, seen in the cases of Israel, Isaac, and Samuel. It is to be concluded, therefore, that "the impression made by the Baptist, by virtue of his ministry and his relation to Jesus, was so powerful as to lead to the subsequent glorification of his birth in connection with the birth of the Messiah in Christian legend."

The same thing is true also with regard to the story of the birth of Jesus himself. Here one has a definite foothold in the passages of the Old Testament, especially in Matthew. It was inferred from Isa. vii. 14 that the Messiah must he born of a virgin (Matt. i. 23). But Isaiah here spoke of a young woman: it was the Greek translators who first made this into virgin. In this passage Isaiah was not thinking at all of the Messiah, while the translator quite probably, and the Christians certainly, supposed that was what was meant. The supernatural birth of the Messiah, and thus of Jesus, has been inferred from the passage. The tendency of the ancients to represent great men and benefactors of their race as sons of God must also be remembered. Hercules and the Dioscuri, Romulus and Alexander, Pythagoras and Plato, are some of those concerning whom stories of a supernatural generation have been accepted, and yet Plato and Alexander are historical personages of known parentage. How quickly such legends are formed can be seen by the fact that even Speusippus, the nephew of Plato, relates the history of his uncle's mysterious birth.

We pass over a mass of details brought forward by Strauss, and refer once more briefly to his observations about the star. Those who gave a "natural" explanation—in which even to-day many orthodox still find much joy, a real irony of history—reckoned far too much upon the fact that Kepler had calculated for the year 747 after the foundation of Rome, practically the year of Jesus' birth, a conjunction of Jupiter with Saturn in the constellation of the fish. The extraordinary luminous effect of this group of stars is supposed to have been what was meant by the miraculous star. It was also suggested that it was a comet. Only one question may be asked to show the futility of such "natural" explanations: Do comets or planets move about and then come to rest "over a roof"? Certainly not; this star belongs to the world of the imagination. Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17) foretells the advent of a "star out of Jacob." The belief in the appearance of stars at the birth or the death of great men was widely held. A star is supposed to have made its appearance

at the birth of Mithridates and, according to the Talmud, at that of Abraham also. The death of Cæsar was very soon related with the comets that, as a fact, appeared in the same year. Here, therefore, we have a piece of popular belief, but not history.

In this manner Strauss examined the whole life of Jesus as given in the gospels, and discarded everything that did not bear the test of his severe criticism. All the sayings and acts of Jesus, and all that is said to have happened to him, were submitted to this examination. Almost the whole traditional material of the life of Jesus, all the accounts of angels and devils, healings and resurrections from the dead, visions, dreams and miracles, of the changing water into wine and the feeding of the five thousand, of the walking on the sea and the stilling the storm—all this disappears from the realm of that which seriously claims to be regarded as fact. All is shown to be the poetry of a people whose imagination had been fired with the fairy tales of the ancient world and the wonderful narratives of the Old Testament.

But what kernel of historical truth remains under this poetry? Are we left simply with a field of ruins, of value only for the eye of the poet and the artist? or is there enough still left to build anew on the foundation that was laid of old, Jesus Christ?

When we ask that question we discover at once the defect of a book otherwise so remarkable. Although Strauss regarded as genuine the greater part of the sayings of Jesus as given in the first three gospels—the discourses of the fourth gospel seem to him to bear in every feature the mark of a later origin,—he has not endeavoured to sketch a picture of Jesus from these sayings. In consequence his book has only a negative character.

It was the philosophy of Hegel, under whose influence Strauss had fallen, that was responsible for this. It was that which prevented him from understanding and appreciating the greatness of the personality of Jesus. With its perpetual reference to the Absolute and the idea of man, this philosophy robbed Strauss of the vision of the really great, the valuable, the life-giving in human history, the great personality. At the end of his work Strauss has, it is true, a positive section; that, however, is not

concerned with a description of Jesus, but with a speculation concerning the traditional dogma the invalidity of which he had just shown. This dogma is to live again on a higher level as Idea, and when allegorised will solve for men the riddle of existence.

"In an individual, a God-man, the qualities and functions the Church ascribes to Christ contradict one another; in the *idea of the race* they agree. *Humanity* is the union of the two natures —God become man, the infinite manifesting itself in the finite, and the finite spirit remembering its infinitude: it is the *child* of the visible mother and the invisible father, nature and spirit; it is the *worker of miracles* in so far as in the course of human history the spirit more and more completely subjugates nature—both within and around men—until it lies before him as the inert matter on which he exercises his active power; it is the *sinless existence*, for the course of its development is a blameless one, pollution clings to the individual only, and does not touch the race or its history. It is *Humanity* that *dies*, *rises*, and *ascends to heaven*; for, from the negation of its phenomenal life, there ever proceeds a higher spiritual life; from the suppression of its finitude, as personal, national and terrestrial spirit, comes its union with the infinite spirit of the heavens. By faith in *this Christ*, especially in his death and resurrection, man is justified before God; that is the *kindling within him of the idea of Humanity*, the individual man participates in the divinely-human life of the species. Now the main element of that idea is, that the negation of the merely natural and sensual life, which is itself the negation of the spirit (thus the negation of a negation), *is for man the sole way to the spiritual life.*"

Those are spirited words, beautiful and noble thoughts: Hegel's thoughts and Hegel's words. They are nevertheless the conceptions of an ethical Idealism without religion. They are neither the thoughts of Jesus nor the old dogmas. The historical sense which Strauss manifested so brilliantly in his criticism, is itself opposed to such a change of the mythology of the traditional dogmas into a mythology of concepts. Where we hoped to find a historical person, he who truly exercised the strongest influence

ever exerted on the world, we are expected to be satisfied with ideas and allegories. And as it was a religious genius whom we approached, we wished also to learn how to experience and understand religion; but instead of this we get generalisations and a new dogma.

In spite of this enormous defect the work is a remarkable one, the influence of which still continues to increase, even though in matters of detail it has been surpassed.

Bruno Bauer.

Among those who reviewed Strauss' *Life of Jesus* was Bruno Bauer, who was a year younger than Strauss, and at that time a lecturer at the university of Berlin. Standing on the Hegelian right, he had, in the spirit of his conservative master, absolutely condemned Strauss' work. A few years later Bauer himself, in one of those crises which the passionate and confused feelings of the man had often to go through, went far beyond Strauss. As a lecturer at Bonn he published his *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte* in several volumes, and thereby accomplished his break with Christianity and every kind of theology. Compelled to give up his position, like Strauss, he became an author, and died in 1882 at Rixdorf, as a bank official. His last book, which collects together the results of his researches, is a popular work, and from this the greater part of the following statement of his position will be taken, for it has had the greatest influence of all his books: *Christus und die Cæsaren*, 1878.

In this book Bauer tried to give a positive proof that Christianity was not founded by a person named Jesus, that either Jesus never lived, or that no sayings of his and no certain account of his life are preserved to us. The figure of Jesus is the free creation of the original evangelist, a man who lived in the first half of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (117–135), and whose work remains to us in a later edition as the gospel of Mark. The original evangelist was a genius belonging to the philosophical and reforming groups of the world of Jewish and Greco-Roman

civilisation. Christianity was the product of his intellect, a philosophy of redemption for the lower classes of the people. Jesus was conceived as a rival emperor, and at the same time as a representation of the ideal ruler that democracy needed and longed for. The other gospels were produced, at a later date, by the same group of people, as expansions of the ideal picture: the fourth was the latest, having been produced toward the end of the second century. The justification of this view was sought in two facts which cannot be denied, but which must be interpreted in quite a different manner from that which Bruno Bauer desired.

The first is the fact that Jesus is practically not mentioned in the profane literature of his time. The first Roman writer who names Jesus is Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44). After a reference to the Christians, he says: "Christ, the founder of the sect, was put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the Procurator Pontius Pilate; but the pestilent superstition, repressed for a time, burst forth again not only throughout Judea, the birthplace of the mischief, but in Rome also, whither all things base and atrocious come together and find favour."

Suetonius mentions the Christians once with similar words, and also perhaps Christ himself. Both authors write with an almost entire lack of knowledge of Christianity, and with the scorn of prominent Romans for an unknown sect, accused not merely of anarchist plots, but also of all sorts of immoralities. They were also led into error by the "mysteries" it contained, in, for example, the doctrine of the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of Christ. The first definite record of the Christians is given in one of the letters of Pliny, who was governor in Bithynia from 111 to 113, and already at that time found Christians living there in large numbers. We ought not to be surprised that so little is recorded concerning Jesus in the first century after his death. For the Roman historians he was simply a peasant of Syria executed as a rebel, one of many such in that age. Occasion to occupy themselves more closely concerning him only came when the "corrupting" sect that joined itself to him began to play a part in Rome. The matter is different with the

Jewish historian Josephus, who, in the second half of the first century had played a certain rôle, first as a general in the war against the Romans, and afterwards as a writer. He mentions John the Baptist, and Jesus the brother of James, and many other men, otherwise unknown to us, who gave themselves out to be prophets or messiahs. In the text of his work that we possess to-day there are reports of Jesus in two passages; but they are uncertain, because it is thought possible to show them to be the insertion of a later Christian pen. Even if Josephus did not mention Jesus we might imagine a reason for it; Josephus wished to purge his nation and himself from the suspicion of messianic and anti-Roman tendencies. When referring to John the Baptist he is completely silent concerning the messianic hope, and represents him as a Greek philosopher of virtue and temperance. In the same way he makes of the religious parties of his people philosophical sects, who dispute concerning fate and its operation, and free will. For this reason, therefore, it may have been painful to him to mention there was a Jewish sect of whom the founder had been punished by the governor with the disgraceful death on the cross as the King of the Jews and a pretender to the throne. That was what Jesus seemed to be to those who did not really know him.

The second fact upon which Bauer supported his theory is that a whole series of ideas, which are held to be original Christian ideas, are to be found almost word for word in the writings of heathens of that age. Seneca, who was for some time Nero's minister, outlined an ideal picture of humanity which is almost feature for feature to be found in the teaching of Jesus. He says, for example: "If we were indeed granted perception of the soul of the virtuous, how beautiful, how holy, in what calm radiating majesty it would appear to us! If any one manifested this form, higher and more glorious than all that the eye is wont to see in this world of men, should we not, as in meeting a divinity, pause with astonishment and silently implore that we might look upon him without sin? . . . And this form will stand by and support us if we will only reverence him. He is not honoured by animal

sacrifices and the fat of bulls, nor through images of gold and silver, but through pious and right feeling." *Ep.* cxv., or *Ep.* cxx.: "We saw in him perfect virtue. . . . In him was to be seen that blessed life which flows on without hindrance, and is entirely submissive to its own will. . . . Never did he curse his fate; nothing that happened to him did he take despairingly. . . . Never did he sigh over suffering; never did he complain of his fortune, and he gave forth light as a steady star in the darkness. All eyes were upon him because he was so peaceful and calm."

"To be crucified, to be bound in chains, to bring themselves as a sacrifice," is the fate of all good men, all who work for humanity. We might bring forward much more which at the first glance is indeed most striking. Nevertheless, almost everything that Bauer quotes in this connection is only an ingeniously arranged optical illusion. The conception of man given us by Seneca is the Stoic ideal of the wise man, with which, though touching at many points, the Christian ideal does not, in fact, coincide. Christianity, but not Jesus, is dependent upon the Stoa in many things. Yet, taken as wholes, Christianity and Stoicism are two different stages of development, and ultimately represent two quite different points of view. Once read complete descriptions of Stoicism and of Christianity, and the difference immediately becomes evident. The Stoic wise man is in the first place an energetic citizen of the State: "Kind to his friends: indifferent to his enemies, carrying out his public and private business with holy zeal: he lacks patience in no situation in which it is needed, nor intelligence and will where it is a matter of doing something." "Order, dignity, and rationality" are his chief virtues. "Nothing can shake him from the steady calm of his soul." He does not bear suffering with his gaze fixed on God, or from love for the brethren, but from the conviction that "whatever may happen, it is in my power," should I wish, to make an end of myself. That is not Jesus, the preacher of repentance, passionately submissive, lovingly gentle, but also sad and powerful, and the prophet of the coming judgment. Jesus is much too great, too bold and too imaginative, to be placed in the same category as the respectable

Stoic wise man. We should perceive this much more had we not taken into our picture of Jesus far too many unhistorical features from Isa. liii. concerning the lamb, which, led to the slaughter, "opened not its mouth."

Bauer found it necessary to support his bold hypothesis by a great number of secondary considerations. He disputed the possibility of so great an amount of material as is contained in the gospels being handed on by oral tradition. We must admit that our gospels have grown from shorter writings, the evolution of which, from individual stories and a collection of sayings, can easily be observed. That evolution is so evident that the whole cannot possibly be regarded as the systematic composition of an individual writer. Yet a people as a whole has no means of such composition: we must therefore assume at least one great writer, the original evangelist. Bauer denied that these "folk-stories," "myths," as Strauss called them, existed amongst the Jewish people. According to him the Jews had no messianic hope at all, no belief in a "King of the Jews" that should come. Such traits therefore could not have been transferred to Jesus. Josephus the historian, in order to save himself, discovered in his distress a single oracle for Vespasian. Denial of the entire messianic hope was still possible in 1840. Since then so many new sources have been brought to light, especially in the so-called Apocalypses, that to-day we recognise more and more distinctly the messianic hope as the pole-star of Jewish piety.

A similar attempt had to be made by Bauer to reject the records of Christianity, for it is fatal to his hypothesis that at the time of Pliny there should be so many Christians in Asia Minor as Pliny reports. Pliny's letter must either be spurious or in part falsified, and the witness of Tacitus must have rested solely upon that of his friend Pliny, and that of Suetonius upon that of Tacitus. All three thus prove no more than that at about A.D. 113 there were a few (!) Christians in Asia.

As a consequence of these contentions the Christian writings must all be placed in the second century, and where possible after 150 A.D. In his attempt to give dates to early Christian

literature, Bruno Bauer was helped by the theology of the Tübingen school founded by F. Chr. Baur, which had endeavoured to show the spurious nature and the really late composition of all the New Testament writings with the exception of the four epistles of Paul, to the Corinthians, the Romans, and the Galatians. Bauer only had to declare these epistles false, to have an open path to the boldest constructions. An abundance of new sources and of serious research has now put us in a position to obtain a more correct view of the second century, and to prove that the time in which most of the "false" New Testament books were composed was from 80 to 150 A.D. The four chief epistles of Paul have demonstrated their genuine nature again and again: they are the most certain witness that we have for the fact that Jesus lived, as well as for a number of his sayings. These epistles prove, more especially, that the picture that the first three gospels give of Jesus, reproduces correctly the impression that his person made upon his disciples.

The figure of Jesus in the first three gospels has so much local colour; Jesus' mother tongue, Aramaic, permeates the whole so plainly, that a Hellenised Roman or a Latinised Greek of the second century could never have invented such a figure. Not at the court of the emperor, not in Rome of the second century, not in the thought of a Hellenistic writer, but in Galilee and in reality is Jesus at home. On the lake, where the fishers threw in their nets; on the hills where the corn waved and the lilies bloomed in the evening breeze, and where the birds in the trees sang their evening hymn of praise to their Creator, there was his home, there he really lived. And he and his words still live and shine forth to-day.

The Evolution and the Present Position of Research.

The first task of all work upon the life of Jesus, a task which so many historians have thought it possible boldly to pass over, and yet one without which no constructive hypothesis is of any value, is the literary examination of the sources. The necessity

of such an examination is evident, if only from the existence of four complete gospels and of many secondary aids from other narratives not included in the New Testament. These records are so full of contradictions and divergent statements, that we are forced to ask the question, how the discrepancies are to be explained, and to which account preference is to be given, or even whether any of them deserve to be treated as truly historical records.

When we survey as a whole the gospel literature that remains to us, we may quickly recognise that which includes the oldest and the best records. An examination of the Apocryphal gospels leads very soon to the conclusion that of all these writings, only one—the so-called "Gospel of the Hebrews"—can be compared in significance and age to the Biblical gospels. Unfortunately, so little of this gospel is preserved to us that it cannot be said seriously to come into question.

The great difference, which every careful reader observes, between the first three gospels and the fourth, compels us to make a decision between these sources. The gospel of John presents to us a Jesus who, before the world was made, existed with God the Father, as the creative reason and the eternal word of creation. Jesus here is a divine being who, becoming flesh, kept this divine consciousness right through his earthly life till the hour of his death, when he triumphantly prayed to his Father: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (John xvii. 5).

In order to recognise the distinct divergence between this representation of Jesus and that given in the other three gospels, we should consider the above along with the account of the man in his last prayer in Gethsemane, wrestling with God that the cup of his suffering should pass from him. The saviour of sinners and comforter of the poor, whom we find sketched in these gospels, gives place in the fourth to a sublime being who disputes with the Jews (thus he calls his people) only concerning his dignity; and who leads his disciples to the knowledge of his unity with God. Baptism and the Last Supper are here (John iii. and vi.) introduced into the life of Jesus in the sense of mysteries.

In long discourses Jesus exalts himself as the Good Shepherd, the Light of the World, and the True Vine. Here and there the synoptic gospels also present long discourses; but it may easily be observed that these have been formed from individual sayings: they can be analysed with very little trouble into their original parts. In the fourth gospel we have long discourses concerning definite subjects, elaborated from some original outlines. The writer thinks nothing of passing directly from Jesus' words to his own, as may be seen from the conclusion of the talk with Nicodemus (chap. iii.). The gospel of John includes only seven miracles chosen from a great number (xx. 30); but these are elaborated upon and expanded, as compared with the accounts given in the synoptics. These accounts are accompanied by an allegorical commentary due to mystical theological speculation, as, for example, the saying after the awakening of Lazarus: "I am the Resurrection and the Life." We are compelled to choose between the gospel of John and the synoptics: and the choice cannot be a difficult one. The greater portion of the fourth gospel is the same material as we find in the first three, but restated for apologetical purposes, and expanded by discourses which are meant to prove that Jesus is the eternal Son of God, the "creative word," "the universal reason," the "Logos," concerning which philosophers since Heraclitus and Plato had spoken. In the fourth gospel, a Jewish theologian, initiated in the mystery wisdom of the time, a spiritual *confrère* of Philo, has recast for educated Greeks the figure of the Jesus of the synoptics. The composition is sublime and mystical: the most spiritual that we have concerning Jesus; but in it Jesus is transfigured.

We find the historical Jesus in the synoptics alone. Even these may not be taken without examination. A simple literary comparison shows that they are not the beginning of gospel literature. In the first place, it soon becomes plain that at their basis are two written sources: a narrative of events, which, apart from changes of text and small additions, is fully preserved in our Mark; and a collection of sayings of Jesus, which we must place together out of materials of discourses common to Matthew and

Luke. This collection of sayings was for the community a sort of catechism of the teaching of Jesus. It contains the sayings already arranged in groups, and was originally written in Jesus' mother tongue, Aramaic. Matthew and Luke have it in the same translation, but they have used it in somewhat different ways. All that we have stated above may be established by simple comparison of the three gospels.

Until recent years theology remained at a standstill with these facts, and any who wished to write a life of Jesus endeavoured to make the oldest gospel its basis. In practice, little difference resulted whether one started from Mark or Matthew. For, since it was necessary to place somewhere in Mark the discourses found in Matthew, to perform, that is, the same work that Matthew had already accomplished, nearly the same result was obtained. No great and striking difference is therefore to be noticed between the conception of the earlier liberal theology that started out from Matthew, as did Hase and Keim, and the newer theology constructed upon Mark, as in the work of P. W. Schmidt and O. Holtzmann. Even in the moderately liberal theology, among the advocates of which are to be reckoned a conservatively-inclined liberal like Beyschlag, and the moderately orthodox B. Weiss, the outline of the life of Jesus produced was not so very different in spite of the use of the gospel of John.

At last it was no longer possible to avoid the hard facts of literary criticism. Even among so-called "orthodox" theologians there are none of repute who regard as true the old doctrine of inspiration according to which every word of the Bible was dictated by the Holy Spirit. These all distinguish between the divine revelation and its human form. The conflict of tendencies, so often for political reasons represented as a conflict between belief and unbelief, is, in truth, simply a fight as to the standard of critical literary study. Views looked upon twenty years ago as radical have already in our day become "orthodox."

The most learned representative of orthodoxy, Th. Zahn of Erlangen, describes the gospel of Matthew, for example, as a "historical apology of the Nazarene and of his church in opposi-

tion to Judaism," written at a time when "a community of professing Christians" stood "as an independent body over against the Jewish nation as represented by its authorities." It was natural that at the time when the sayings and deeds of Jesus were brought under such later apologetical points of view they should be given a significance other than they originally had. The task of the critical study of the gospels must therefore be to discover and throw into relief the original facts by comparing the records and laying bare the later tendencies, which may account for and make intelligible the new construction and the new form, always a reinterpretation, that was given them. Zahn himself goes so far in this direction as to maintain that the gospel of Matthew shows "perfect freedom in the manipulation of the vast material, the form of which, from the first to the last line, is determined by the theological ideas and the apologetical purpose of the author."

The principles and methods of the study of the gospel sources, and of the New Testament generally, were stated clearly by Benjamin Jowett in his "Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture." More perhaps than any other Englishman of his time, breathing a spirit of entire freedom, he saw what the influence of increased knowledge would be upon our view of the validity of the original Christian documents. No theory of inspiration can rightly be applied to them that they do not themselves justify. The sense of the documents "has become confused by the help of tradition, in the course of the ages, under a load of commentators." Commentators and tradition must be left on one side and the writings examined on their own account. The meaning of the gospels is "to be gathered from themselves without reference to the adaptations of Fathers or Divines, and without regard to *a priori* notions about their origin." There must be harmony between knowledge called religious and other knowledge; though knowledge in religion is not the same as that in the Natural and mathematical sciences, for religion involves necessarily and essentially the factors of feeling and will, emotion and conduct. That was what Jowett meant when he said that

"Scripture is a world by itself. . . . To get inside that world requires an effort of thought and imagination, the sense of a poet as well as of a critic."

We may speak of a complete victory of the principle of the free critical study and treatment of the gospels according to the standards adopted in all other historical research. Although ecclesiastical party leaders may try to silence, and the official church to oppose it, it is a simple fact that evangelical theology can be carried on in this fashion alone, and cannot permit any one to take away its right to follow this course. That the results obtained by those undertaking this research are often opposed one to another is quite true, and at this stage is quite intelligible. Nevertheless, the conflict concerning them can be brought to an end only by scientific means, and we must cease deluding ourselves with the idea that there are any scholars worthy of mention for whom the New Testament or even the Bible is the "absolute word of God"; any scholars who do not work with their own "reason" and according to the philological and historical method. The sole difference that exists between scholars lies in this: that some take this method much more seriously than the others, and do not draw back in fear in face of results which upset ideas dear to themselves and to others. They know that truth is our highest good, and that ultimately it does not destroy but rather creates life.

Even to the present day the judgments pronounced upon the miracles and upon the sayings of Jesus concerning his messianic dignity and of his coming again after his death are of the utmost diversity. The positions men hold on matters of theology are often, either with the tendency of agreement or rejection, wrongly brought to bear upon the facts and narratives to be historically examined; and most theologians seek to find their own attitude towards God, the world, and man, and even their own theology, in Jesus. Only slowly and as the result of severe personal and ecclesiastical conflicts has there grown up at the end of the century a theology which attempts to state clearly what it recognises as the historical picture of Jesus, with the features determined by

his time. This theology makes the claim to independence and freedom of judgment in regard to Jesus, absolutely convinced that it is far more important to agree with Jesus in unconditional truthfulness and integrity of character and conduct, than in opinions concerning men and things, world-wide catastrophes, and future hopes.

The works of the "orthodox" and of the mediating theologians all suffer from the fact that they have not yet reached this state of complete freedom; and even the earlier liberal theologians, however far they were in advance of the orthodox, were not entirely free from attempts to find their own theology in Jesus. Thus the criteria of their often deep-sighted interpretations were very varied.

That Jesus did not know the Copernican conception of the world, and therefore had false ideas concerning the earth, the sky, and the underworld, the sun, the moon, and the stars, is agreed on all sides—though perhaps here and there, even yet, timidly. In this connection the remark is usually made that such things are matters of the science of Nature in regard to which it was not Jesus' purpose to reveal anything. The ways taken by theologians begin to diverge with the question concerning the devil and the demons, to whom Jesus and his contemporaries traced illnesses, especially diseases of the nerves and mind. While one section of the orthodox still holds to the belief that these ideas correspond to realities, others wish at least to take off something of their crude realistic nature, as seen, for example, in the story of a legion of them going into a herd of swine (Mark v. 13). Others contend that Jesus consented to the belief in demons and other ideas of the same sort only in accommodation with the views of simple people. All these explanations are quickly losing their credit. Even those who, with considerable vigour, appropriate to themselves the name "positive," candidly acknowledge that in this matter also Jesus shared the conceptions of his time.

The same diversity and gradual change of opinion is to be noticed with regard to miracles. There is the orthodox belief, which sees in miracles proof of divine power, and takes as history

everything in the stories handed down in the gospels. The assertion is made that for such a special period of revelation a special manifestation of God's power must be accepted as an indispensable presupposition. Surely, here, the position of the Catholic Church, in claiming and believing the continuing miracle for Christianity, is far more reasonable. For what time has not been a decisive epoch for the kingdom of God? "My Father works always." Along with this, there is a slightly more satisfactory mediating position which maintains that all that is really necessary is to hold fast to miracles such as the virgin birth and the resurrection. These it declares to be facts, and in reference to them champions the theory of an immediate intervention of God, which, while inscrutable to us, is nevertheless not contradictory to the laws of Nature. We can, however, truly speak of a free theology only when we seriously exclude miracles as we do in our research in other spheres of history. The theologians who adopt this attitude will hold fast to the belief that the source of all the uniformity and regularity in the world is the activity of God, a holy will who reveals himself in law, not in caprice.

The most difficult matter to discuss is the attitude taken up by the orthodox with reference to Jesus' predictions of his coming again on the clouds of heaven. That Jesus really expected this, and, indeed, within the time of the generation then living, passages like those of Mark ix. 1 and xiii. 30 tell us plainly enough. As there is neither the desire nor the possibility of declaring these passages spurious, the explanation is given that, as it is expressed in the Psalms, one day in God's sight is as a thousand years, and these predictions are interpreted to imply the distant future. But by this the orthodox arrive at the position of the, by them otherwise combated, mediating theology. A free theology simply states Jesus to have been in error, in that he shared with his nation not only the prevailing conception of the spatial, but also of the temporal, holding the belief in the early end of the world.

The greatest differences of presentation are due, finally, to the fact that on the one hand, in the gospel of John, statements con-

cerning the heavenly dignity of the person of Jesus are made central, while on the other, on the contrary, what occupies the most important position in the synoptics is his work and the impression made by his human personality as there drawn for us.

At this point a new stage in the evolution of critical study makes itself evident. When Strauss sought his mythical parallels to the miracles of the Messiah, the later Jewish literature was, as we have already mentioned, only known in the Apocrypha and in the Talmud. These, though they contain old traditions, could be passed over as having arisen after the time of Jesus. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament offered practically nothing for the treatment of the questions. They had arisen almost entirely in the spheres of Hellenistic Judaism, and have interest almost solely from the ethical point of view. More philosophical than messianic, they contain little even for the "legendary" interpretation of the Old Testament narratives; so little, in fact, that they may be overlooked. The nineteenth century has given to us, precisely for this period in the history of Judaism, a mass of new sources. The ancient churches have preserved to us the Jewish Apocalypses in Christian form, those books of Revelation out of which a single Christian one, the Revelation of John, is retained in the New Testament. The first book of Enoch was discovered in Ethiopian monasteries, and afterwards a whole literature was brought to light in the Syriac, Armenian, Slavic, and Coptic languages: the possession of these also led us to understand the almost forgotten ones that had been preserved in Latin and Greek. This literature has shown to us the nature of Israel's hope at the time of Jesus: how it conceived the Messiah; and how nearly all the features possessed by the Christ conception of the Christian community at the time of the apostle Paul, were to be found already in the Jewish conception of the Messiah. Once the statement had been ventured: Jesus is the Christ, the declaration of his existence as the Son of God before the world; his participation in the creation of the world; his elevation above all heaven and the angels, could be taken over from the Jewish conception of the Christ, the Messiah. That was done as

something self-evident, and without the least doubt as to the correctness of doing it. The Christology was practically completed before Jesus came upon earth.

The generations of theologians after Strauss and Bauer worked at this branch of study with extraordinary energy and success in discovery. Many works on individual aspects of the question might be referred to; but they are mostly mentioned in the comprehensive works of Schürer, O. Holtzmann, and Bousset. The last was the first to gather together and to group the scattered material and to describe best the religion of Judaism.

Research upon the life, character, and opinions of the Jews was seen to be important for the knowledge of the character of Jesus himself. Scholars asked themselves the question: What attitude did he assume towards the hopes of his people? It became ever more apparent and clear that he also lived in the apocalyptic-messianic hope, and that his preaching must be understood upon this background. So the pale modern Jesus of earlier epochs gave place to the passionate prophet and Messiah who expected his return in a short time upon the clouds of heaven with the angels in the glory of the Father, and who clung to these beliefs and found in them the strength to meet his death. So Baldensperger described him. The "Kingdom of God," which the theologians had so long understood as a peaceful organisation of humanity through love, growing as gradually, quietly, and surely as the seed, was now represented by Joh. Weiss to mean the apocalyptic change in which heaven and earth should come to an end and a new world of God, the dominion of the Messiah, should appear. Finally, Schweitzer, in giving to Jesus a soul determined entirely by such apocalyptic ideas and sentiments, has interpreted as something temporal the one thing which seemed eternal in Jesus. According to this view the moral precepts which enter into the teaching of Jesus are only a transitory morality for the time of waiting, a morality involving restraint and sacrifice only because such would give place to victory and honour when the great change was over. Practically the whole of the traditional material is retained, but only at the cost of representing Jesus as

an apocalyptical fanatic, who saw nothing more than that one awful revolution to which all seemed to him to tend. The new sources undoubtedly enable us to see more concretely, and to understand more correctly than our fathers, the facts of the matter. Again, it is true that this psychological view, emphasising an important tendency of that age and making it the basis of our records, is better than that modern psychology which makes Jesus too gentle, too soft, too "human" in the sense of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the conception of such an apocalyptic Jesus is very one-sided. If he had been the apocalyptic that Schweitzer contends, he would not have ended his life on the cross, but somehow in the style of one of those imaginative books which tell of the end of the world and of the secrets of the sky. He was a prophet, inspired with love for his race, and with anger against its seducers; he was not a man occupied with speculations concerning an approaching end. To fail to recognise what in him was the first, the inspiring, the really creative, is to look at things upside down.

A literary comparison of the gospels reveals the fact that many of the apocalyptical tendencies were first introduced into them by the community. The early church was more determined by messianic ideas than Jesus was. It found in his parables hidden prophetic allegories, made him more and more distinctly the Messiah, and went so far as to place sayings of an apocalyptic character in his mouth. This may be recognised as soon as the second task that Strauss had left to theology is taken up seriously: the task of discovering how far the picture of Jesus is due to the later development of Christianity.

The knowledge of primitive Christianity has continually become more exact and more clear since the thirtieth year of the nineteenth century through the works of the Tübingen school, especially of its founder F. Chr. Baur, and his followers Schwegler, Zeller, K. Köstlin, and others. The discovery of many new sources in the realm of early Christian literature also advanced this knowledge enormously. In the eighties the results in this field of research were first collected in the great works of

Weizsäcker, Harnack, and Pfleiderer on Early Christianity. These appeared almost simultaneously in 1886 and 1887, and although coming from different theological schools they stand very near one to another in respect of their conclusions.

Since that time a new movement has set in, coming from the same men, but called forth by the works of the philologist Usener and his school in the sphere of the history of religion, and by the results of Old Testament research (advanced by Eastern discoveries) in which Gunkel has been the pioneer.

Through these researches we have become more familiar with religions of the Roman Empire with which Christianity entered into rivalry, and with the ancient religions of Asia Minor, of which ecclesiastical Christianity is in part the heritage. We can now follow much more clearly the struggles of Christianity with the mystery religions, and its opposition to the worship of the emperor. At the same time we see how much that is foreign has entered into Christianity in the course of these conflicts, and how many stories have arisen as a counterpart to heathen narratives. Where Strauss sought for Old Testament originals for some of the doctrines concerning Christ and found none, there now opens up clearly before us the whole significance of polytheistic imagery. The sources from which the imagination of the people created their strange conceptions of the Christ, which are found in part already in the gospels and in the literature of the New Testament generally, can thus be distinctly traced. We can understand now, far differently from the way earlier generations could, what the early Christians felt when with glowing enthusiasm they called Jesus "their saviour and their God," and when they said that wise men of the servants of Mythra saw his star and came to worship the child as they did the emperor; and we can understand better why upon the head "covered with blood" of the carpenter of Nazareth, they placed the highest crown of the emperor.

In every direction new prospects in a distant land have been opened to us, in the abundance of the religious aspirations of a sea of peoples, of a unity of civilisation stretching from India to

Spain. In this vast and varied multitude of races many saviours strove for the hearts of men and drew to themselves their worship. It is natural that, looked upon from this point of view, the gospels should be increasingly regarded as an expression of these conflicts, as works of faith and its vindication. It became evident that this apologetical purpose had led to the development of the conception of Jesus, and the question forced itself upon scholars more than ever before whether the gospels were involved in this process of elaboration. The question had indeed been asked previously, and been answered in the affirmative, but only now did its significance become clear. The general survey given by Wernle in 1901 in his *Anfangen unserer Religion* ("The Beginnings of Christianity," London, 1903) is only in part written with these thoughts in mind, but it shows nevertheless what a width of view is here obtained. In the meantime much work in matters of detail had to be done. After Eichhorn had pointed out the apologetic tendency in the prediction of the sufferings in Mark, and required us to strike out of the life of Jesus all the ideas of suffering, together with the record of the Last Supper, his friend Wrede thought it possible to show "the messianic mystery in the gospels" to be an apologetic invention, and suggested that the very notion of the Messiah be struck out of the life of Jesus. At this point they came into contact with the scholars who, on philological grounds, declared that Jesus could not possibly have used the expression "son of man" in his mother tongue, and thereby have meant to describe himself as the Messiah. The messianic idea seemed to be banished entirely from the life of Jesus. In the writings of these men, Jesus is a shrewd teacher with ethical maxims, a great spiritual guide and comforter of overwhelming power—if we can say even so much about him.

Jowett had insisted upon the importance of the study of other religions for the purpose of a true appreciation of any single religion. Albert Réville, who was a pioneer in this sphere, also wrote a life of *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1897. The gospel of John is to be rejected as history; the historic narrative begins with the baptism of John: the stories of a miraculous birth of Jesus rose

later from the homage paid him. Recognising the messianic tendencies of the age, Réville contended that Jesus at first resisted the temptation to call himself the Messiah, wishing to be simply the bringer of the tidings of the coming kingdom. However, Jesus fell from this pure idealism and assumed a conviction and an attitude that did not proceed from his own conscience—the title and dignity of the Messiah. A. Sabatier urged that there was not such a fall, but that the conception that Jesus had of the Messiah was different from that of his disciples and his countrymen generally. His conception was more in harmony with that of the prophets: that of a "suffering and dying" saviour. So though Jesus accepted the title, he exhorted his disciples to silence concerning it. If Réville hardly did justice to Jesus with regard to the messianic claim, Sabatier tended to purify and idealise the conception that he represented Jesus to have held. "Jesus and his disciples lived in the belief that they were in contact with the last days; that the present world was going to end; and that the great change prepared by God was at hand. It was the candour of his filial faith, the integrity of his conscience, the deep inspiration of his piety, which alone made the illusions which such a perspective gave, morally inoffensive to him. He made two parts in this messianic order of things: one part entirely moral, exclusively religious; the part of renunciation, of love of the poor; of the consoling, the raising up and saving of the sick and sinners; the part of sacrifice even of one's life; and he took this upon himself as his fortune, his real and pressing duty, his personal mission: and the other part, of the external triumph of the final judgment and of future glory, of which he did not doubt, but the actual realisation of which he left to the wisdom of the Father. Such was the faith of Jesus in the second part of his life, such was also his faith in the first part."

The view taken by Réville led him to an account of the death of Jesus which robs it of all that is great and most attractive. Imbued with false ideas of Messiahship, Jesus, after success in the country, came up to Jerusalem, only to be met with indifference on the part of the crowd who had little in common with the

Galilean peasant. Though he felt the rebuff deeply he was not discouraged, for he concluded that his hour had not yet come. The religious authorities rose actively against him. He was watched, but he hoped to escape; and so slept outside the city. The Passover was celebrated cautiously; and he told his disciples he would go before them into Galilee (Matt. xxvi. 31). In spite of his precautions, he "was surprised in Gethsemane, condemned in the morning by the Sanhedrin, delivered up by Pilate, crucified towards nine o'clock, and died the same day before sunset, done away with by a sudden blow in which one recognises the sinister cleverness of the established methods of the priestly caste." If Jesus knew of his death, and refused to flee from it, says Réville, he was a suicide. But Jesus only suspected his death, and tried to avoid it: he did not accept it voluntarily. Here again Sabatier was led to a criticism which is more in harmony with the general impression we get of Jesus. It was with a moral certainty that Jesus knew that the course he pursued would lead to death: nevertheless he could not abandon it. He had put his hand to the plough and would not turn back. He would save his life, and to do so he must lose it. He did not go to Jerusalem to triumph there and to proclaim the social and national reign of the Messiah: he went to suffer and to die. For Réville, Jesus was a great religious teacher who was misled by the messianic ideas of his time. What is important for mankind is not the person of Jesus, but his blending of "intimate religious feeling with a very high morality."

Only after surveying all these tendencies is it possible to understand how, after so many years, Kalthoff could renew the attempt of Bauer to strike Jesus out of history altogether, and to trace all his sayings and all that is related of him back to the constructive imagination of a communistic, messianic society. He hardly knew the work of his predecessors, and his own work is not scientific, but rather the outcome of violent anger against "liberal" theology, and of a misunderstood materialistic philosophy of history, that does not recognise the reality of great personalities, but thinks it possible to derive all evolution from

the gradual development of the instincts of the masses. That this absurd theory, long ago abandoned by those engaged in scientific historical research, but still continuing an existence amongst certain sections of socialists and rationalists, could be presented as the social theory of the future, can be understood only by the recognition of the doubt aroused by all this critical study of the gospels in those who do not seriously co-operate in it. Here the individual should apply to himself the saying of Goethe referred to above (pp. 56–57), and he must not believe it possible to suppress the serious work of science with the seven-league boots of his own or a church's theory.

Finally, Wellhausen, the great pioneer in the field of Old Testament research, has made, less happily, some beginnings in work upon the gospels, and has ended up almost in scepticism. Earlier, in his *History of Israel*, he had with more foresight given a concise and impressive sketch of Jesus, drawn, it is true, with features somewhat too much like those of the ancient prophets, and yet at the same time too modern. He has attempted to put together an original Aramaic Mark which is to contain what is most genuine. Anything other than this, even the Non-Markan document and all the particular contributions of Matthew and Luke, are to be regarded suspiciously as written later and of doubtful validity. In face of a close examination the sayings contained in this document are like those of Christ, modified slightly in statement, and just for this very reason Wellhausen is doubtful of their being genuine. He has tried therefore to trace back to the society everything which contains predictions of the future, and to describe Jesus simply as a Jewish prophet who preached the law of an inward light. "Jesus was not the Christ, but a Jew. He did not preach a new faith, but simply taught obedience to the will of God. In Mark his teaching consists almost entirely of polemic against the scribes and the Pharisees. He thought that with their additions they stifled the law, and through the commandments of men placed on one side the commandments of God. By making this distinction he broke down the feeling of the equal validity of different parts of the law. . . .

From the insufficient fragments that remain we can make a rough inadequate conception of the teaching of Jesus. We do not know his religion, his practical monotheism, from these alone: that does not lie simply in his teaching in public, but also in his nature and conduct at all times, at home and outside; in that which he said or did not say; what he did with explicit purpose or otherwise; how he ate and drank, bore pleasure or suffering. His person, which they could enjoy in their daily association with him, had even a stronger influence upon his disciples than his teaching."

But whence do we know these disciples? The epistles handed down under their names in the New Testament are spurious in quite a different degree from the gospel traditions of Jesus. From these alone we first become really acquainted with his disciples and the first Christian community. Wellhausen is quite correct, that we see Jesus always through the eyes of those who followed and reverenced him; even in the wearisome and wrongly constructed original Mark of Wellhausen, Jesus is already regarded with Christian eyes. But is that sufficient ground upon which to doubt the possibility of recognising his picture clearly? The research of the last few years has demonstrated that Jesus was not a prophet of the ancient type, as he has sometimes been conceived. The form which Mark has given the ancient tradition of Jesus is quite defective in this respect, and, moreover, it is distorted by apologetical tendencies. It cannot be used as an outline in which the inner development of Jesus might be described after the manner of Renan. Such a procedure may be permitted to the poet, but historical science must pay more attention to facts.

One more step has therefore to be taken, one that had, in fact, always been required, even in the case of purely literary comparison: we must go behind the sources themselves and fix our attention upon the details, upon the individual passages, for out of these individual narratives and individual sayings everything has evolved. The simple manner in which these were strung together is shown by the gospel of Mark. He has brought together the sayings of Jesus in quite an external manner,

entirely without inner connection. A glance at chap. ix. vers. 33 to 50 shows this distinctly enough, although this aspect is so often overlooked by the commentators. The sequence here is from the "greatest" to the "least," then to the "child"; afterwards three sayings follow which have not the least relation to the others except the common phrase "in my name." Once more a saying is introduced associated with the word "child," and this passes on to the word "offence," and without any inner connection these are followed by three sayings concerning "offence," concluding with the "fire" of hell. Then we have a saying about "fire" and "salt," and, with no real connection, two sayings about "salt." It was in this externally related manner that these things were committed to memory. The collection of sayings around certain ideas, such as is found in the Non-Marcan document, is somewhat later. All the sayings must therefore be taken out of their context and considered independently. Originally it was no different with the narratives. Mark shows distinctly that, before he wrote, the polemics against the Pharisees had been brought together in a group: it is an error to see in them historical unity, or even logical sequence. The individual component is old; the unity, the framework, is later. The new constructions must be distinguished by the tendencies they show. A thing is not to be rejected from the life of Jesus simply because it is Christian, but only if it cannot be intelligibly conceived as a portion of the life of Jesus, or if it could only have originated in the society. Must not Jesus have seen what every child could have told him, that he who spoke against the authorities, in the nature of the prevailing circumstances, must sacrifice himself? It does not necessarily follow that because the society regarded him as the Messiah and touched up his "picture" in accordance with the view, that he did not himself also believe it. In the effort to be impartial in relation to the sources, there has often been more doubt in theology than in any other sphere of human tradition. Is it always necessary to burn that to which we have previously prayed?

The research of recent years seems to leave us in the position

of being able to sketch with remarkable clearness a picture of Jesus, but not to write a history of his life. For what is remarkable about tradition, as we have it of Jesus and of Socrates, is that in the short stories related the great man is every time pictured entire, as the sun in a dewdrop: a new splendour streams out to the onlooker with each new position, each new glance, and yet the rays all have their origin in the same illuminating crystal.

Place this picture, acquired from a few words only, upon the background of the entire history of humanity, and the character rises before us still more clearly in its overwhelming greatness and power. Before we proceed to view Jesus in relation to the problems and needs of the nineteenth century, and to ask of him an answer to them, let us try to bring before ourselves, as definitely and clearly as possible, this historical picture of him.

JESUS.

Jesus came as a child of his race, "after God had spoken many times and in sundry ways to the fathers through the prophets," and "when the time was fulfilled." When to-day we consider Jesus in relation to the history of Israel and of religion in the sphere of western civilisation, we understand these words more deeply than those Christians who first used them. It was not as a product of the preceding evolution that Jesus came, but as a link within it: what he did was to give it a new direction which, to the wellbeing of humanity, it has from that time followed. When we seek to recognise his place in the history of humanity and to understand his relationship to and his significance for it, we deny neither the secret of his personality nor its original power and sublimity, and, further, we do not attempt to explain it away. For, indeed, even in the poorest human soul there is something that evades explanation. What we wish to grasp is how Jesus, although essentially of his own epoch, was able to give answers to the questions of life that apparently have not yet been surpassed; answers which, even to

those who call themselves by his name, still reveal heights that have not yet been attained; answers which to millions of our contemporaries just as to men of centuries ago bring redemption from suffering and guilt. The age in which Jesus lived was the transitional period in the history of the world, the period in which all the forces that have given the characteristic direction to our western civilisation first appeared in human life.

When the wandering Israelitish tribes, carried away by the enthusiasm of their first prophet Moses, who from Sinai preached God to them, had become a people and in quick triumphant march had overflowed the civilised land of Canaan and conquered for themselves a dwelling-place, they differed from their neighbours in little, except that they called their God "Jahveh." According to their belief, in Moab the god Chemosh, and in Tyre, Baal, were to be prayed to and reverenced. The Israelites, it is true, did not pray to their God under the form of images, and perhaps He was different from the gods of the other nomad tribes; possibly Moses had come to know Him in the monotheistic speculation of more advanced peoples, as at a later time Mahommed discovered Allah. In any case, He soon assumed a character similar to that of the tribal gods of the surrounding peoples. The customs of the people and the will of God became interchangeable terms. Towards the enemies of His people He was severe, even to cruelty. He was well pleased in the blood of bulls and goats, and the smoke of sacrifice was to Him a "sweet-smelling savour." Slowly and under the veil of this conception another came to light: for in the course of the centuries a succession of powerful religious and ethical teachers was given to this race, through the influence of whom from the religion of Israel there ultimately arose the Jewish religion which made Jesus possible. The great gift that the people of Israel have made to mankind is not Monotheism in itself, but the unique nature of its faith in God as it gradually shone forth in the prophets, and finally in Jesus reached a state of invincible reality. Monotheism was not peculiar to the people of Israel: it was to be found even in its Israelitish form amongst other Semite

tribes; while in a more pantheistic form it was the philosophical conclusion of all the great ancient systems of gods, whether of Babylon, Egypt, or Greece. But that which differentiates the God of Israel from all others is the way in which the great religious geniuses who were given to this people interpreted His singleness as a peculiarity of character. We are not just to these men when we take individual sayings out of their context, where they mean something different from what they imply taken alone, and then declare them to be predictions of Jesus, and as such regard them as miraculous. The prophets had no intention of being the proclaimers of oracles; they were much more: they were the creators of an ethical religion; the predecessors of Jesus. They taught that God's will was not "that which is done in Israel," not ancient national custom, but goodness and justice: only by these could the heart of God be reached, not by sacrifices and litanies. In the passionate words of Amos v. 21–24, their God says: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the voice of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." And by the mouth of Hosea He reveals Himself to His people thus: "For I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."

These men struggled against the polytheistic principles of the ancient religion of Israel, against the naturalistic representations of God, His being, and His will. They fought against sacrifices and rites, against the ceremonial, non-moral conception of holiness, which placed God at an unapproachable distance. They fought against the naturalistic belief that the people could become related with God by the sacrament of circumcision. Circumcision was a sacrament in the ancient and genuine sense, that, by external means one entered into a "naturalistic-supernatural," mysterious, real relation to the deity, and thereby participated

in His promises. Sacrifice also, so far as it involved sprinkling or besmearing with sanctifying blood, was a genuine sacrament. The prophets fought against all such things by preaching to the people a God who indeed stands in relation to His people, but who just for that reason requires the highest morally from them. So their God establishes His independence of His people whom He leads and protects, and whom, when they fail Him, He also punishes and destroys.

When the warnings of the prophets had been justified by the overthrow of the people by the Assyrians and the Babylonians (722 and 586); when Jahveh seemed to have reduced His people to a small remnant settled in a foreign land, under the guidance of new great prophets, such as Ezekiel and the unknown writer of the second part of Isaiah (from chap. xl. to the end), they were roused to more unity. Under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah they collected what remained of the ancient literature of the prophets and under its influence began to weld together everything that had been regarded as the will of God, popular proverbs and the traditions of the priests, into one great book of law, the so-called five books of Moses. National hope and enthusiasm, even national pride and militaristic patriotism, the feeling of an oppressed people living in exile, and, along with this, moral idealism and religious inwardness all had their share in the composition of this book which has become the basis of the holy scripture of the greater half of humanity. It is not the prophetic, the spiritual teaching of these men of God: goodness, justice, holiness, that forms the greater portion of the book, but revived ancient national custom, that which "men did in Israel." So, along with the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," stands as of equal value the other, "Thou shalt not seethe the young ram in its mother's milk." Hundreds of regulations concerning ceremonial encumber that which was once the chief concern of the prophets. The pious clung to this book and its laws with all the passion of prophetic enthusiasm; for behind it was their great ever-burning love of their fatherland, and above it shone out the glorious promises of the prophets of

the advent of a new and transfigured people of Israel, and of the dawn of a real divine kingship.

For a people thus to strive for centuries to fulfil the most curious commands and customs, which they did not understand, is indeed a wonderful drama. In the wars of the Maccabees, for example, hundreds allowed themselves to be mown down without resistance because it was forbidden to work on the Sabbath day, and therefore also to fight! Again, it is a wonderful drama to see the spiritual and moral power of a people directed to the application of this law of God to all possible cases of life by a system of individual directions, which should not overlook the smallest thing, not mint, dill, and cummin, nor the egg which the hen lays on the Sabbath, nor the order in which prayer and the washing of hands should follow eating. The religious life of this people, "according to the law," attained its highest point of development in Pharisaism, one of the most curious phenomena in the history of religions. In Pharisaism this casuistry of the religious life was extended to the smallest particular of conduct. Without doubt for the people as a whole, as for the individual member of this—we might say—"order," it was a great blessing that "day and night" the law of God was in their hearts and on their lips. That John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul were produced one after another by this race was possible only because under the discipline of the law conscience became delicate and will strong; because in the community through generation after generation a life of sacrifice had sprung up which ever had its promise, hard and oppressive though it may appear from the outside.

Nevertheless the bad effects of this life under the law preponderated by far. An aristocratic portion of the people to a certain extent withdrew from it when, at a time of fusion of civilisations such as was then the case in the near East after the triumphs of Alexander, foreign culture and refinement commanded submission. By this the aristocracy set a bad example to everybody else. "Rich" and "godless" came to mean practically the same thing. On the other hand, among masses of the people there arose a spirit of doubt, for they not only felt poverty and

the supremacy of the foreigner, with its inconsiderate spoliation through the publicans (the tax-gatherers), but they were also oppressed by the curse of religion; the curse of the law was to them necessarily born of poverty. If the law was so far socially interpreted as to permit as sufficient special offerings of mean value to the poor, it was nevertheless especially oppressive for the poor that they could not serve God as the pious, patriotic citizens, to whom the Pharisees belonged, and who on account of their "tenth" and their alms did much good by their piety. Worst of all, the poor could not become acquainted with the law or know the will of God. For this knowledge was to be obtained only from an old book, written in the not generally understood Hebrew language: in a book the possession of which was only possible to the wealthy. All that the poor people knew of it was what was read out and translated for them on the Sabbath. And yet blessedness was held to depend upon the fulfilment of every letter! Never did a book religion so oppress a people, even in India, as did the law the poor of Israel; never were "hidden faults" more oppressive than with them.

This book religion had still other bad effects. That fervent piety which alone strengthens life, which communes with its God and receives from Him ever new light and help, was forced completely into the background. It had become a dogma that God had spoken only "in times past to the fathers," and that the present possessed simply the explanations of a holy book, merely theology not religion. Yet dogma was not life. Ever and anon arose pious, religiously-inspired men to whom God revealed something. But the holy scripture did not leave them the courage to admit to themselves and to others the significance of such revelation. They did not venture to come in person before the people and themselves proclaim the good in the name of God. They concealed themselves behind the great men of the past and wrote under the name of Daniel, Enoch, Elias, Esdras, the "revelations" of which we have already spoken. These writings are filled with one idea: that faithfulness, patience, submission are the virtues of the pious, and that the pious would be rewarded by the remarkable

event that was to happen at the end of the world, which would bring the judgment of God and His kingdom of glory. Painted in the most glowing colours of fervent imagination, this great new age was the one consolation in the dull, oppressive present. The supremacy of the Romans ever gave cause for feelings to be aroused impetuously by these hopes. Again and again bold men came forward with the claim to be the expected Messiah: they promised to substantiate their claims by wonderful signs; and they found thousands of followers, until the Roman soldiers by arms and imprisonment suppressed the outbreaking rebellion. The movement thrilled through the whole nation. It is characteristic that this expectation of the Messiah was at that time a most frequent form of aberration of the mentally diseased. They met Jesus everywhere and greeted him as "the son of David," the "holy one of God."

At such times, when man and the world are the objects of doubt, monasticism and asceticism make their appearance, and flight from the world is deemed necessary for the salvation of the individual. Thus there arose in Palestine an order of monks, the Essenes. The emergence of such an order in a race, otherwise so fresh and happy with regard to marriage and children, shows how the weariness of civilisation then felt by the ancient world influenced the feelings of the Jews, as hermits of all sorts, for example, Banus, the teacher of the historian Josephus, are a sure witness.

All these tendencies were present among the people of Israel at the time of Jesus. Heaven was rent with the prayers, complaints, and cries of poor longing hearts. The "voice of one crying in the wilderness" was heard: one of those hermits came forth boldly in the name of God before the people and their rulers. The book religion was at an end. "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar . . . the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness" (Luke iii. 1, 2). A genuine prophet, a man like Elijah, preaching justice towards the poor, the judgment of God and the advent of the Messiah, repentance and inward change of life, stood before the people. And, as

a genuine prophet, he met with a sudden and a violent end. Never has he been forgotten, not even in face of the greater than he whose way he prepared.

Jesus came with the same message as John, showing his high courage by following without fear in his steps. Yet, even at that time he was different from the Baptist, and although he also preached the turning of the will as the first and highest thing, he had a conception of humanity other than that John had. The sufferings of his people, their dire spiritual and material needs, weighed upon him so much that he felt compelled to leave his own family, of which, after the death of his father, he was the protector and breadwinner, and to take up a life of work and service until his death. In talking of Jesus' suffering for others it should always be remembered that it began before he "was called": the real beginning of the hours of suffering was in the transition from youth to manhood, when he first saw clearly the needs of his people. He was, nevertheless, a different man from John. He, who placed John so high, recognised clearly the difference between himself and this powerful ascetic with his overwhelming gloom. When he became conscious of God, John was led into the wilderness; Jesus, into the town to work for those that needed him. Jesus sought the company of his fellow-men not merely to announce judgment, but to show love. He "ate and drank" and accepted in pure unrestrained enjoyment the beautiful things that God gave him. He looked upon everything naturally; he understood everything human, even human anxiety and care. He did not condemn these things, he raised his followers above them. "Blessed are ye poor, ye suffering, ye that thirst after righteousness, ye merciful and peacemakers . . ." are words in which the Non-Marcan document is in harmony with the earnest call to repentance. The humanity he has before his mind is different from that of John the Baptist, like whom, in the course of the nineteenth century, many have conceived him.

The earnest powerful traits of strength and resolution must not be forgotten because they do not take the same place in the conception of Jesus. Jesus' call to repentance and to change of

life is to arouse the self-satisfied and the hypocritical, the sinners and the hard of heart. To understand Jesus, the two sides of his nature must be kept in mind. As the prevailing tendency of his people was to indifference and doubt, effects, as we saw, of the life under the law, so his life's work and his inward attitude were directed against these two evils. All his preaching had the one immanent aim: to lead men back to the Father, to bring them into a relationship which bound them together in love. To achieve this end, in one case he must humiliate, in another raise to confident power: in one case he must shatter false confidence, in another console and elevate. In all he is concerned to develop the new man, that they should be perfect in goodness and pure in heart as God is, whose sun shines upon the good and the evil.

The aim of Jesus may be expressed in this one word "repentance"; yet it may be analysed into thousands of individual requirements for the day and its needs, for each man and his particular life, and for this reason it is so difficult to state definitely. As everything really great in man, it is rather something implicit than explicit, something which is incapable of adequate expression, something that works in and beyond all his words: it is the personality of Jesus himself, which, as for his contemporaries, so to-day for a spiritual reader of the gospels, is felt rather than consciously perceived. We will, however, attempt to set out with a few broad outlines the chief individual requirements. The disciple of Jesus has to test himself by the standard of a definite self-education. What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and by this lose his own soul? Blessed are the pure in heart. If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out. No man can serve two masters: God and Mammon. Be not anxious. The feeling towards God is to be in the first place a feeling of reverence, and everything should be done in this spirit. Fear not those who can kill the body only; fear rather Him who can destroy both body and soul in hell. But along with reverence is trust; by the side of the address, "Our Father" and "Hallowed be Thy

Name," stand the requests, "Give us this day, etc." The Father in heaven knows what ye have need of. All is conceived in a fresh happy mood, for the world and in the world. Trust in regard to external and trust in regard to internal things: I will go to my father and will say unto him, "Father, I have sinned." Trust God: if an unjust judge, if a sleepy friend, gives way after repeated prayers, if you who are evil give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father in heaven give to those who ask Him! He who is so filled with the love of God, who has learned to look thus upon himself and to make the highest demands of himself, will also have quite a different attitude towards his neighbours. He will begin with himself: whatsoever ye will that others should do unto you, do ye even unto them! He will not judge, he will not see the moat in his brother's eye, but rather he will love his neighbour. The Old Testament contained this commandment, but by "neighbour" was meant a fellow-countryman, from whom the foreigner was definitely distinguished, and between these two there was the "stranger that is within thy gates." But even at the time of Jesus, however much a narrow patriotism tended to retain this attitude, conscience growing more delicate would not allow itself to be so satisfied. "Who is my neighbour?" asked the scribes. Jesus stands on the side of the new, the coming; he relates the story which makes an end of all narrow patriotism, the story of the Good Samaritan. The neighbour is he who needs our help, every one; and man should love even to the love of his enemy—only thus is he like God. Jesus did, apparently in a narrow patriotic manner, perhaps as a test, utter the saying against the Canaanitish woman, that one should not take the children's bread and cast it to dogs. But this saying loses its harshness when it is conceived purely as a parable; once God is apparently compared with a sleepy man, and the Son of Man with a thief in the night. Further, Jesus wished to be rid of the woman, but finally, as she continued firm and revealed to him her anxious love to her children, he was overcome; as at all times everything

truly human and good made a deep impression upon him. That he limited the preaching of his disciples first to Israel, and then to the Gentiles only when there were proofs of individual faith, was due so his conception of the world and to his expectation of the early advent of the kingdom of God. Although he loved his people warmly, still it is not the Jew, but the man, that he sees in men. It is this that makes his sayings eternal. Actions of love are due to all those who need them, and they extend even to the sacrifice of life. The good Samaritan might at any moment himself fall into the hands of the robbers; but this does not prevent him performing his act of love. That which Jesus commended in this parable he showed in his life: the cross is the sign of it. Love must show itself not merely in heroic deeds, but in the ordinary course of daily life. To forgive and to be reconciled, not to judge but to pardon, not to hate but to make peace,—blessed are the peacemakers,—and all this not seven times seven but seventy times seven, that is what, according to Jesus, is becoming to a good, magnanimous, and humble soul. Are we not all servants to whom great debts are forgiven: do we wish to become as the wicked servant who took his brother by the throat?

Humanity, as Jesus sees it as the sonship of God, is a firm, courageous life full of goodness and gentleness, full of work and love ready to help others, a life in strength and true humility, and for this reason full of proud free power confident in God. In conflict with Pharisaism and in his relations with the authorities of his people this conception took more complete and definite form. Jesus did not seek that conflict; he was not a reformer, not even an initiator of reform: he looked up as all real initiators of reform, full of piety to the great authorities of the people, even to the teachers and the leaders. But the conflict was forced upon him; and he carried it through as a man and triumphed in his death. The first thing he learned was: "Except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven." Here the form of the words may be Matthew's; the spirit is the spirit of Jesus. For,

in a series of sayings and parables, Jesus showed that it was not valid to transform the abundance of moral and religious commandments into a still more complicated system of external regulations, but that one must go back to the inward spirit which the law intended, if man is ever to become good from within. The pure heart, the good disposition, free from revenge, from lust, from hypocrisy, that is the will of God. There is only one standard for man: not a sum of good works, not the profession "Lord! Lord!"; but he is a true disciple who does the will of the Father in heaven, who strives to become like Him in perfection. For a time Jesus may have thought that he really stood on the basis of the law, and taught its true inward meaning, as when he put forward with some scribes the two great commandments of love to God and love to one's neighbour as the sum of the whole. The conflict with the scribes led him further. In the case of the law of the Sabbath, he came near to a criticism of the law, in that he put the correct but rigid statement of the Pharisees before the question: "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good through work, or to do harm by neglect? to save a life, or to destroy it?"

The law had no such reference: it is not there for the will of men, but as the incomprehensible, not-to-be-contradicted will of God. When—but that is perhaps only later—a more humane exposition modified the law of the Sabbath for cases of danger of death, the helping love of Jesus finally broke with the law completely. In its regulations with regard to purity the law required that the flesh of pigs and of certain other animals should not be eaten, and that pieces should be reserved for sacrifices and for the priests; it required also all the commandments that are involved in the words: Thou shalt be holy, for I am holy. To men of the ancient world everything that stands in relation with the godhead was holy, the pure heart not more than the meat and the fat of offerings; good disposition not more than consecrated candles and pictures,—Catholicism to-day knows this kind of holiness. In the sharpest opposition to the law and in definite following of and advance upon the prophets, Jesus once for all

struck that out of religion: not that which goes into a man makes him holy or unholy, but the words of his mouth and the thoughts of his heart. The pure heart and the good will alone are holy. So the level of the polytheistic religion in which the divine is joined to the naturalistic is finally transcended. According to the gospels the divine has its sphere on earth only in the moral. In this lies a new evaluation of man: human affection is bound to God in a way different from all other things. Human affection is the highest and the most precious thing we know.

Jesus had no word in his vocabulary for humanity or the ideal of humanity; he had no knowledge of our abstract modes of expression. Nevertheless, what we have formulated from his requirements and evaluations in individual matters is a quite clear picture of a new humanity which is opposed at nearly every point to the old polytheistic view of man. With his wild force and beauty Nietzsche revealed to us again the polytheistic ideal. This found him so many followers because Jesus' view of man was almost forgotten beneath two other conceptions that occupied the chief place in our modern life: that of the "Philistine" either materialistic or rationalistic, with his motto, Do the right and shock nobody! and that of the Pietist, either in the Buddhistic form preached by Wagner, or in the ecclesiastical form with its unmanly attitude of expectation, and its humiliating complaints concerning "sins" and the "vale of sorrows." That which Jesus placed before men as sonship of God, as likeness to God, that which his personality manifests to us, is differentiated most sharply from these three ideals of humanity. It combines heroic freedom and magnanimity of spirit with deep consciousness of guilt, and of duty towards God; it unites submission and self-sacrificing love with confidence and the courage to fight. Such courage to fight does not arise from the natural spirit of revenge, the desire for supremacy, or the force of self-assertion, but from a pure heart full of love, to which the misery and need, material and spiritual, in which it sees others, become the motive to work, to conflict, and to sacrifice that has its source in the soul's inherent goodness, expecting its reward from God alone.

Expecting reward? Is not all robbed of its worth by such an expectation? We are led therefore to ask how Jesus established his ethics. Like a genuine prophet, Jesus often gave no special sanction to his commandments. To the prophet God speaks in clear and intelligible language: "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?" (Amos iii. 8).

The prophet knows what God's will is, and can simply announce it to others. The certainty to which he attains in his inner experience of God enables him to speak with authority. Jesus often justified his requirements as the teachings of wisdom; at other times he supported them with those sober and in part humorous reasons of common sense: "Is not the soul more than meat?" "Which of you by being anxious can add a cubit to his stature?" "Let the morrow take care of itself." The greater number of his parables, as they were formed in his poetic soul and undyingly continue to impress themselves on mankind, are examples of prophetic conviction and authority. The prodigal son, his good father, and his "just" brother; the good Samaritan, the Pharisee and the publican, are all images which constitute a secure possession of the soul, and from their very nature exert a power to transform men. The frank manliness and power of Jesus is to-day the greatest influence which flows from his words to men and captures their hearts. In this influence is to be found the prime source of what is distinctive in Christianity.

A superficial examination of the gospels might lead to the view that in the forefront of the sanctions to his commandments are the popular eudæmonistic ideas of an imminent judgment, accompanied by rewards and punishments, and of the approaching end of the world, and with this the near advent of the kingdom of God upon earth, where now the devil rules over the children of men, entangling them in sins and afflicting them with diseases by his demons. Only the superficial can desire to ignore these ideas of the people of that time, or to interpret them allegorically. Under their form Jesus received in the natural course of things the great religious and moral inheritance of his

race. Even the most spiritual and inward things are clothed for him in this form. "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee" (Matt. vi. 6). However, it must be remembered with regard to such sayings that they grew out of an angry aversion to the reward which the Pharisees sought from men for their piety. In contrast with this Jesus points men to God and to sincerity of heart. Would you have recompense and thanks, hope for them from God; to Him your piety is due. And if we consider the clauses of the "Our Father" or the prayer of Jesus in Gethsemane, we shall see at once that it is impossible to suppose that Jesus prayed to obtain reward from God. Prayer as a pious and meritorious achievement is quite foreign to him: ye shall not use vain repetitions as the heathen do.

In this new conception of man Jesus went far beyond the traditional view of the world, though his sayings frequently and conspicuously give evidence of that view. The conflict with the Pharisees, the most consistent adherents of the doctrine of rewards, forced him ever more and more to oppose that doctrine. The real principle underlying the doctrine of reward is the quantitative evaluation of the good, the idea that good works might be accumulated so high that finally God must confess, "Well done, good and faithful servant!" (Matt. xxv. 21). In Judaism much was spoken of the book in which all good deeds and all sins were written, and of the balances in which these good and these bad deeds should be weighed one against the other. The idea of the books and of this reckoning by God is in the mind of Jesus also; but he values men qualitatively. There stood the Pharisee and the publican: the one could recount many things before God, the other nothing, and he said: God be merciful to me a sinner. Which of the two was the better? To-day every one still answers: He who had a repentant heart and longed for forgiveness. When ye have done all that was commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants; what we were bound to do, that have we done and no more. Everything with which we work is God's

gift, a talent that is entrusted to us. Finally, the call to repentance is a call made to all. "Ye that are evil," said Jesus to his hearers; and when some one addressed him "Good Master!" he answered, "One is good, God alone." Where after this is there room for the idea of desert and of reward? How he judged men entirely according to his ethics of character and motives, and not according to the law, is shown by the parable of the workers in the vineyard. All received the same reward. To the objection, made from the point of view of the genuine idea of reward, the lord of the vineyard, who had not dealt unjustly but excellently, answers: "Is thine eye evil because I am good?" Jesus represents the work of his life thus: he invites all to enter the kingdom of God; he goes out to call men in; good works are not taken into especial consideration; all can come: all that is necessary is to follow him, to change one's life when on a wrong path, when baffled by care or desire, suffering or sin.

The equal reward is entrance into the kingdom of God. Here again Jesus appropriated the popular ideas and spoke of eating and drinking, of being at table with Abraham, of rest in Abraham's bosom, and of other such external expressions of happiness. He certainly expected some transformation of the world to take place after a short time, a transformation by which disease, especially what at that time was called possession, would be for ever annihilated, and suffering, need, and death extirpated, leaving an earth upon which should live the gentle, the peaceful, and the pure in heart. Even while he promised that such should enter the kingdom of God, it can be seen that he did not think the people were ripe for it, who considered that the kingdom of God was a matter of eating and drinking; who thought that the chief thing about the kingdom was, that in it were ten thousand vines each with ten thousand bunches, each of which had ten thousand grapes, each one giving a thousand litres of wine. A saying with this implication is handed down to us, outside the New Testament, as coming from Jesus: from it we may see what was expected at that time. It cannot be doubted that Jesus thought quite other-

wise; and it cannot be meant to be taken literally when Jesus says that in heaven one would receive again a hundredfold father and mother, brother and sister. True, it is not permissible to spiritualise all these sayings or to transform them all into allegories; there is, nevertheless, a danger of going too far in taking them literally. That the new evaluation of men and of goods which Jesus taught must have been transferred to the conception of the kingdom of God and its goods, and must have transformed this conception greatly, is clear enough. The teacher, who knew nothing higher upon earth than the love of God and the love of men, must have regarded the consciousness of God and peace in the coming kingdom of glory, and not eating and drinking, as the chief thing. It is therefore of the greatest importance to observe what, of that which is present in the expectations of his people, is lacking in Jesus. The ideas of natural revenge, the glow of which can still be estimated even in reading such a Christianised presentation of them as is found in the Revelation of John, chaps. xviii. and xix., have no place in his thought. The trait of cruelty which finds joy in the torments of those who fall into hell, a trait manifested by even so high standing an Israelite as the author of Isa. lxvi. 24, and of the fourth book of Esdras (90–100 A.D.), is not to be found in the character of Jesus. Apocalyptical calculations of the time and the hour when the kingdom should come are lacking; indeed, Jesus, though he believed in its advent, rejects such reckoning and calculation absolutely. Lastly, his teaching is entirely free from any imaginative elaboration of the picture of the future. Read the Revelation of John and afterwards the gospels, and you will see that Jesus was not an apocalyptic, not a man to whom the world of religious imagination is everything, but an earnest simple man who preached God's will, repentance and conversion, love and moral life. On these things and not on an imaginary heaven, his life was spent.

In all these directions Jesus broke through the limitations of the popular ideas that he had inherited; historical justice demands that we should recognise these truths. Intelligible as it

is that historical theology has for some time strongly emphasised the eudæmonistic and apocalyptic ideas in opposition to the earlier attempts to neglect them or explain them away, it is none the less unjust to call a halt in this position, and not to bring forward those ideas of Jesus that correspond to his faith in God and his original ideal of humanity. We must therefore bring into view two sanctions of morality put forward together, but in harmony with and determining the essential convictions of Jesus. If morality is the possession of a pure heart, a new disposition, it can be attained only by way of an inner change, a complete conversion. If the tree is good, then the fruits will be so too. Jesus may have used this illustration merely of good sayings and not of all the external expressions of character. It is, however, but a simple matter to extend its import, as is already done in Matthew. Then, secondly, Jesus possessed the primeval hope of humanity, the hope that permeates all as a deep longing, planted in our hearts, certainly not by the serpent but by God: "Ye shall be as God," deepened in a wonderful manner and made the basis of moral requirement, as when he said: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust" (Matt. v. 44, 45). Or as Luke says: "And ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind toward the unthankful and the evil. Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful" (Luke vi. 35–36).

In this faith and this life in God we reach the real depths of Jesus' being. For him God is the holy personal Will who rules over the world and history; faith in this God is the precious inheritance from his race, and especially from the great prophets. But in Jesus' heavenly Father there is no trace of those national and naturalistic elements which persist in Jahveh. He rises far above the God of prophecy; He stands above the "just" and the "unjust"; He is the perfection of goodness; His love cannot be measured by human standards. He is a loving Father to good and evil; His care covers not only the poor sparrow, but even

the hairs of one's head. The paradox of calling God an all-good Father is the greatest that has ever been dared. Apparently the most presumptuous thing that a man ever said to his God was the prayer of Jesus, "Lead us not into temptation." How can man trace evil back to God? And how can he then still call God a loving Father? Jesus has written no theodicy, no justification of God before the claims of human reason and righteousness; there is not the least indication even of his having made an attempt to do so: the best proof that he did not reflect and meditate continually about his God, but lived with Him. The great secret of religion is just the fact that it bears within it such irreconcilable experiences; yes, lives in relation to them. The problem was so far less oppressive to Jesus than to us, because he conceived the devil as the immediate cause of evil and of suffering. He was, however, so certain that God was lord over the devil and could prevent him when he wished, that the question ultimately remains the same. Jesus lived so much in God; he had so strongly the feeling of being in contact everywhere in our world with the reality of this good Will; in all his work he received so much power from prayer and his whole life of communion with God; he experienced so often the power in him working upon the hearts of others, humiliating some, raising the sick and sinners, that in his mind disease and sin were banished before the goodness and power of his Father. In this strong life of faith, in communion with God, all the theoretical contradictions in Monotheism were for him transcended. He may still have believed in a devil or devils and in divine beings in the sky and on earth, yet Monotheism in the sense of recognising a peculiar divine character and being, reached its perfection in him.

Upon men of his age he made the impression that in his person the heart of God could be seen. The impression that there was something powerful, superhuman in him, something that at a later time was called the prophetic; the impression that supernatural powers were active within him, was already strong even among his contemporaries. The people were in a state of excitement on account of him; he preached as one with power, as "having

authority," and not as the scribes, the book-learned interpreters of the ancient scriptures. The people soon regarded him as a prophet risen from the dead: Herod thought that John the Baptist had come again in him, and as a spirit of the dead worked miracles; for at that time many believed that miraculous powers were due to possession by spirits. We must accept as certain, from all the records, that around him souls were so profoundly affected by his simple word that they were cured in body. He could not always heal, but only when his word or his appearance produced faith; and that was not simply once, but often the case. Even without these things the impression that he made upon his disciples is quite sufficient to reveal his power. "Leave all and follow me." He who can obey such words must be affected in his inmost being. In his name his disciples went out and themselves did the same as he: when it was heard that his disciples were coming, the people streamed together to meet them and were healed. They thought themselves so powerful in his name that they wished to let fire rain from heaven "as Elijah did." They felt, it is true, that they could do all only through him. They looked up at him from a respectful distance. When they disputed who should be first in the kingdom of heaven they walked a little behind him; they knew that he would settle their dispute with a few sharp, humiliating words. They turned away the women who brought their children for him to lay his holy hands upon them; for they thought children had no part in this powerful, earnest man and his great thoughts. Each time, however, the ray of his love broke surprisingly forth as the golden sunshine: he took a child from the path, kissed it, placed it in the midst of them and said, "If ye do not become as little children," and at another time, "Let the little children come unto me: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Even his enemies unwillingly gave evidence of his greatness, for they said, "He drives out devils through Beelzebub, the prince of devils." They derived the superhuman power of his being from another superhuman being—which for them was, of course, the devil. They knew no other way of escape from the accusations of this man and his powerful pro-

nouncements of woe, than to deliver him to the Roman gallows. Yet it is the impression that he made upon sinners that most clearly reveals the powerful reality of the life of communion with God that absorbed him. He must have been surrounded as it were by a halo of purity and moral sublimity, which brought men to their knees before him and led many to shed hot tears of repentance, as in the case of the sinful woman; or to the performance of hard tasks showing their repentance, as in the case of Zacchæus or of Levi, who left his seat at the customs to follow him. When the words: "Thy sins are forgiven thee, henceforth sin no more," rung out with the certainty of royal authority, these poor wretched men and women saw heaven open, and, in the features of Jesus, God's goodness shone upon them, in that it did not refuse to accept them as His children. For there is "more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance": that was what they read in his features. He did not condescend to man, but was himself a man filled with the goodness and the joy of his Father in heaven.

His disciples experienced in him their salvation—their real redemption. When they looked into his eyes, their hearts, tormented by guilt, dared to believe in God's forgiveness; their passionate longings were calmed; their fear and mistrust of the goodness of God disappeared; and their moral power broke forth with the fire of the enthusiasm that Jesus brought into their souls. They felt redeemed from sin in all its forms; and in no less a degree they were redeemed from their suffering also. He filled their hearts with a quiet confidence in God's help. With his great hope he raised his disciples above themselves to a life of renunciation and of suffering; yet at the same time to a life of the highest rapture that is possible on earth. Of course their power grew only gradually. The catastrophe of his death, notwithstanding their belief that they would be ready and able to share everything with him, for a moment overcame their courage. But only for a moment. In that which they called his resurrection the hours of their life that had been most significant won with the master the victory over all anxiety. Understand the resurrection

as one will, the disciples of Jesus believed an external appearance as something divinely effected, only because they had already in their hearts confessed: "Thou art the Christ." That he, the carpenter of Nazareth, who had wandered about, ate, drank and slept with them, bore none of the external features of the Messiah was clear, but his inner supremacy and the real redemption that they had experienced through him led them to believe that God would yet give him the external marks of the Messiah, the advent on the clouds of heaven with the holy angels.

We are not left simply the witness of others with their idiosyncrasies of time and place: by means of the gospel records we can ourselves feel the influence of Jesus. It is true that we find no answer from him to all sorts of curious questions put by dogmatic theology. In particular, we find no answer to a question which occupies some minds to quite an unreasonable degree: that as to his sinlessness. To an unreasonable degree, we say, for we cannot conceive what value his mere cold sinlessness could have, unless it is needed, as by Anselm, to establish the possibility of a spotless satisfaction for God. What we can say as historians is this: Jesus wrestled with temptation as we, yes, more and more keenly than we; for, as the noblest men always, he was tempted not only by that which was merely human in him, as by the anxiety of death in Gethsemane and perhaps on the cross, but also and especially by the highest that he possessed: If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down (from the pinnacle of the temple). Use your high position to create faith. So it was the "devil" spoke to him.

He comes to us knowing indeed—but not from divine omniscience—what sin is. The painful saying: "Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, *even* God" (Luke xviii. 19), should not be passed over with the sanctimonious superficiality that is customary. He fought a hard battle with sin, and his spiritual nature was affected by it, and that not superficially merely. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: he did not become what he was by a break with a sinful past; he was not a convert like Paul or Luther; and to-day, as in his own time, he gives the

impression of purity of heart, of overwhelming moral supremacy. The freedom and the courage with which he associated with sinners and opposed sin; the calm and the stability of his nature, even in face of serious moral charges—as, for example, that he was a glutton and a wine-bibber, an associate of publicans and sinners; his influence upon men laden with guilt, all speak clearly enough to those who have hearts to feel. Those are the things that overcome us in his person and character; those manifestations of a warm living human nature, not the marble coldness of formal sinlessness. Such a development through conflict to purity, to perfect goodness, is still human, only to most of us something more difficult to grasp than the greatness of Beethoven is to an ordinary student of music. In all other spheres we acquiesce; we consider ourselves unable to probe to the depths of genius, and yet we know that such genius is both possible and human. Ought we not also to adopt a similar attitude with regard to the sphere of moral purity and religious inwardness and power?

Almost all our representations of Jesus are wrongly conceived, or they take account only of one side of his being, since in lesser minds they move in the realm of the soft and the sentimental, and in greater minds in the region of the sublime and of stoic calm. Some have thought that the highest has been said if his soul is described as an unfathomably deep, but calm and clear lake. No, he also struggled and suffered; he also felt storms; and the waves of his inner life rose higher and higher. He also doubted and had to wrestle to gain a knowledge of his God and His will, and to render loyal submission to it. Indeed, in him the struggle was far more stormy than in most human hearts. His sorrow concerning the lack of intelligence, the stupidity and the opposition of the masses, and the enmity of the leaders of the people, was extremely keen. His "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida!" gives us a glance into such hours when his heart was heavy. But his joy was also far more real, his thankfulness far more passionate, when he saw how he overcame diseased minds, when with unbounded joy he saw "Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

These hours of conflict were so much the more severe for him because he lived entirely for his work and with his God. God spoke to him in the attitude of the crowd, in the enmity of his opponents: Is your way the right one? Time after time, in his quiet hours alone, he had to fight to win once more the joyful Yea, or to let it regain power over him. Prayer on the mountain-top, outside the town in the first streaks of dawn, or in the moon-lit gardens of Gethsemane, when he heard his Father's voice in solitude, comforted him. The field through which he passed gave him some consolation in that it told him that there the seed did not all fall among thorns and thistles, upon the rocks and the path, but much also upon good ground. In everything his Father speaks to him in clear and distinct, comforting and strengthening words. He speaks in the ancient scriptures of the Jewish race; but still more and more strongly immediately to his heart in prayer and in Nature. Whether Jesus knew moments of ecstasy, such as Buddha and Paul knew, may be less surely said, but narratives like those of the baptism and the temptation, in spite of the objections that can be urged against them, give us a glance into those particular hours, when he really "heard God's voice" and struggled "with the devil," who painted in glowing colours before his soul the Messiah of his race, the wonder-worker and ruler of his people, and when his soul turned sharply from this temptation to the life of a wandering preacher, a life of service and of suffering. In these temptations "the devil" always appealed to the great experience in which Jesus "saw" the spirit of God descending upon him and "heard" God's voice: "Thou art my beloved son." That which with our more feeble faith remains an inner experience, in his prophetic soul assumed the force as of actual hearing and seeing.

It is clear that we cannot glance into the most intimate hours of one who would not display to men by anything external his life with God; one who spoke with his Father only in the closed chamber or in the solitude of Nature. It is this aversion to all external manifestation and display of piety, to that deliberate self-glorification in the market-place; his austere restraint in

prayer, that relates the Teutonic races so inwardly to him. The unspiritual and feelingless repetition of the litanies became a matter of habit in the Middle Ages. The forced prayer of the Revivalist preacher which was at one time common in England has been but half sympathetically received by the Germans. Jesus called to despairing minds who could hardly believe in God's goodness and in His will to help, or who let their tired hands sink too quickly. If a sleepy man answers to his neighbour's knock at the window-pane, if an unjust judge hears the cry of a poor widow, when they persist, how much more will your Father hear your prayers! Thus he sought to arouse men to fervent and believing prayer, while to everything that made prayer mechanical he offered the keenest opposition: "Your Father in heaven knows what ye have need of." His prayer is inward, but simple; full of faith, but calm; it is the converse of his heart with God. The same quiet power of a soul at rest in communion with God and sure of its salvation, is evident to us in the "Our Father." Unfortunately this precious possession is not handed down to us uniformly in our gospels. Whether it contained only the three requests in which the records of Matthew and Luke agree: "Give us our daily bread: forgive us our trespasses: lead us not into temptation"; or whether the usual form (without the certainly later doxology) is the true one, the character of the prayer remains unaltered. Far removed from all fanatical urging and all heartless repetitions, it is also entirely free from liturgical pomp. It flows simply and unaffectedly from his divinely inspired heart, and for this reason it speaks to every genuine human heart. Millions to-day are able in it to bring before God the cares and the longings of their deepest hours. In the last three requests Jesus associates himself with the great and eternal goods of human life. Again his genuinely human nature manifests itself: he prays for daily bread. Nevertheless, what stands before everything else in his soul is that which is involved in the relationship of God and man: guilt and temptation. If the sentences from Matthew are added, the prayer begins with reverential submission to God;

"Hallowed be Thy name," and includes the request for the highest and final good, the kingdom of God. These sentences are certainly in the spirit of Jesus, for it is his will that the chief care of man should be the striving for this kingdom—so that it might well have been his first prayer. And, over all, as a triumphant note sound the words "Our Father"; not the unending collections of names of God that we find in the prayers of Mahommed and the Jews, but a single name of love, and yet at the same time an expression of the firm foundation of all certainty and of all happiness.

Jesus' faith in God and the manner of his communion with Him, his acceptance of all that He gives and his perfect submission, regarded from the point of view of the history of religion, signifies the highest level that has ever been reached anywhere on earth. We have already seen that his belief in a holy, personal Will, who rules the world and leads men to His ends, was an inheritance from the religion of his fathers, and the ripest fruit of what the prophets experienced and proclaimed of God. But since he rose above the "righteousness" and the holy God of the Jews; since he perceived and felt the God of all-powerful goodness, he may also be regarded as the final point of the evolution that began in Greece and Rome, in the transformation of religion by philosophy. Seneca, his younger contemporary, represents so high a stage in this evolution that he could say: "If you will imitate the gods, show good deeds even to the ungrateful; for the sun rises even over the evil." These gods are, however, but shadowy forms; in reality nothing lies behind them but Nature. The holy personal Will transcending the world is lacking; and as these gods exist only as forces of Nature, the "wise man" has the right "to look down upon men from a higher level, and by his side to see the gods on the same level." There is in the religion of Seneca no self-surrender to the Father in heaven; none of that inwardness and life in communion with the highest Will that protects everything and leads it to its end; none of the reverence and submission which gives to men that which is most holy; and, finally, there is no genuine humility.

Greek and Roman philosophy had come to recognise that sacrifice was not the way to God, and that the "holiness" of sacrificial blood, however much one was sprinkled with it, did not make the heart holy. From the days of Heraclitus to those of Jesus we can observe a growth of knowledge among the heathen as among the prophets. The Greek saw clearly and distinctly that God was best served not by the number of sacrifices but by reverence; to offer sacrifices, all that is necessary is to have wealth, while reverence demands pious feeling (Stobæus, *Flor.*). The insight is the same; but in Israel sacrifice faded before a conscience that was becoming more delicate, while in Greece the same result was due to increasing knowledge. Jesus, with his complete spiritualisation of communion with God, is the expression of the spirit of that which we see gradually coming within Israel and without; here also he came "when the time was fulfilled."

According to Jesus, man may come to God, receive from him and give to him, solely by the converse of the heart, listening to the voice of the Father as He speaks in Nature and the depths within. This tendency of thought is found throughout the whole of Greek philosophy: nevertheless the whole Greco-Roman world was as feeble in following as it was firm in asserting it. The gods of the prevailing polytheism with their non-moral and immoral natures, and the great state religions with their sacrifices, continually hindered the realisation of these ideas. But that which at that time especially triumphed over the tendency to moralise and spiritualise the conception of God was Nature religion in the form of mystery cults and sacraments. In sacraments, which had evolved out of the old sacrifices and blood rites, the blessedness of the life with God appeared to be bound up with a natural enjoyment of food and drink; baptism in mystery religions is nothing but a wish to participate in the holiness of God. Jesus is quite free from anything of this kind: he had nothing to do with sacraments; he did not baptize; the bread and wine at the Last Supper were simply symbols of his death. But it is easy to understand how at that time when

all peoples sought purity and eternal life in sacrament, this contemporary side of popular belief so influenced Christianity that baptism was soon adopted and even traced back to the "Risen Lord" (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.), and that the Last Supper was conceived as early as Paul in the manner of a sacrament. After a short hesitation, Luther definitely retained this piece of ancient piety, while Zwingli and in a lesser degree Melanchthon were free from this feeling towards ancient Catholic practice. The nineteenth century, with its symbolical conception of the Last Supper has turned once more to the original; and it has transformed baptism into an act of thankfulness to God and a solemn vow on the part of the parents and god-parents. Slowly, therefore, these elements of pre-Christian religion are disappearing, and the view of the world that remains accords more truly with the gospel of Jesus.

Humanity has always had a lively feeling for the men in whom the divine seemed to come near to it, and from whom a higher life shone out upon men with attractive power: even though its official guides have again and again led such men to the cross and the funeral pile. It has always felt something higher, something superhuman in them, and for this reason it has ascribed the greatness that it has felt to a spirit, to a God in them. It was no different in the case of Jesus. From the day when glowing enthusiasm dared to say: "Thou art the Messiah!" a high wave of faith sprang up around and concerning this Jesus of Nazareth, and it did not come to rest till the confession: "My Lord and my God!" had raised him even to the throne of God.

Did Jesus hold that he was more than man, and if so how far up in the scale of being did he place himself? This question has occupied the minds of Christians from the earliest times of our era. We believe it to be a scientific duty to confess at the outset that to-day we cannot answer the question with certainty. For this there are two reasons. In the first place, it is here that the historical picture has been most elaborated upon by the faith and the enthusiasm of later ages. The fourth evangelist has gone the furthest in this matter; for according to him even the Baptist is

quite clear about the atoning sacrifice of the Lamb of God; the disciples recognise Jesus at once as the Messiah; and he himself is able to say to God: "Glorify thou me . . . with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (John xvii. 5). This certain knowledge of a pre-earthly existence does not at all correspond with the human personality that the first three gospels sketch for us. A comparison of the three synoptic gospels shows that even in them the conception of Jesus begins to grow on this side. On the other hand, Jesus if he thought thus of himself would certainly have observed a modest reserve concerning the matter. In the very nature of the case here much must remain for ever dark.

We have to start out from the fact that in the gospels two distinctly different series of expressions run side by side. In the one, Jesus maintained throughout that the ancient revelation of God to his people through Moses and the prophets was sufficient to lead to the kingdom of God. Here he does not bring the patriarchs, whom he believed to be in paradise with God, into relation with himself as though they needed his mediation, as the later Church and with it already the fourth evangelist represent him doing. The woman who was a sinner "has" forgiveness of sins indeed by his preaching, but from God and without any mediation; the parables of the prodigal son and of the Pharisee and the publican, show in each case that there is no need for a third, not even Jesus, to step between God and the submissive human heart. His Father in heaven forgives immediately and unconditionally: He is not the God whose honour or holy law first requires the satisfaction of blood. "Is thine eye evil because I am good?" that would be his answer to the teaching of the necessity of an atonement by blood. In the other expressions Jesus was not only for his disciples a new and the complete revelation of God, but according to our gospels was himself conscious of being such. Among these expressions there are certainly a great number which do not lead us beyond the human and the prophetic. The prophet also had the consciousness that to him alone the will of God had become known; the prophet

was able to propound the bold parable of the new wine and the old skins, and to use that god-conscious saying, "But I say unto you!" Jesus often placed himself in a line with the old prophets, even though he compared himself to a son while they play the part of servants. In the enmity which was manifested against him he found some consolation in the sufferings of the prophets: that as they suffered, so he must suffer. He came forward as a prophet and called to his disciples as Elijah did, "Follow me"; and the people regarded him as a prophet, a man of God risen from the dead. According to the belief of that age, the prophet bears in him something supernatural, a power from heaven, the spirit of God, a real heavenly being, which descends upon him in a naturalistic supernatural way "as a dove" or as "flames of fire."

The same uncertainty and variety is to be found with reference to another idea, that of the Christ, the Messiah. At first the "Messiah" implied no more than a man; the son of David, that is, descended from the royal house of David, "anointed" by God to be king, who should lead his people again to honour, to the glory of a new, eternal kingdom. The hysterical and the mentally diseased in their attacks call Jesus "the son of David." "Hosanna to the son of David!" shouted the crowd in exultation at his entry into Jerusalem. Whether Jesus was actually a descendant of David is for us a matter of complete indifference—according to Mark xii. 35–37 he appears not to have been so. That he thought himself to be the Messiah seems to be suggested by many things: the fact that he commanded Peter after his confession to be silent; that at his entry into Jerusalem he half confessed himself to be; and, lastly, the inscription on the cross that called him "the King of the Jews." Already in Judaism were associated with the Messiahship still higher ideas which had found an expression for themselves in the two names "son of man" and "son of God." "Son of God" was at first only a title of honour given to the humanly conceived Messiah, as in the psalms of Solomon; Paul in one passage witnesses to this; indeed even Luke himself says of the son of David, "He *shall be called* the son of the highest." There may be no intention of signifying any-

thing more, when the High Priest asked him at his trial whether he was the Son of God, or when the "demons" called him so.

The right explanation of "Son of God" may be found in the word "King" as used on the cross, and in the question of the High Priest when we consider it in relation to the idea of the Messiah. The way in which the word "son" is used in Hebrew and Aramaic gives no ground for thinking of a particular manner of descent of the "son," but rather of a particular inward relation to the Father. The disciple often called his teacher "Father" and the teacher his disciple "Son." A hundred years after Jesus, a Jewish Messiah called himself "the son of the stars," to indicate his exalted nature. For a like reason, without any further consideration Jesus is recorded to have spoken of others as "sons of God": that ye may be "sons" of your Father in heaven. Undoubtedly, if he applied this title at all to himself he conceived of it inwardly and filled it with the whole spirituality of his love. In the gospels we find it in his mouth only twice, where the question concerns a special knowledge of God's secrets and being (Matt. xi. 25–27): the son does not know the hour of the end of the world (Mark xiii. 32). Further, it is noteworthy that the gospels carefully avoid representing Jesus as saying "Our Father" with reference to himself and other men (the "Our Father" is in the gospels a pattern prayer for the disciples)—they prefer to say "My Father and your Father," with the exception of one passage (Matt. vi. 4). That this custom could not have been maintained through thirty or forty years of oral tradition, particularly as the Aramaic language does not always make such fine distinctions, but that this is an artificial distinction made by the evangelists, due to their reverence for the Lord, seems to be quite evident. The question is more difficult in the case of the name "Son of Man." The evangelists vary almost as much in the use of the expression as scholars do in their interpretation of it. It is certain that the expression does not mean, as is usually supposed, the humanity or the human nature of Jesus in contrast with a divine nature taken to be implied in the title "Son of God." It is, however, open to

discussion whether the Aramaic word of which it is the translation is simply "man," meaning practically "anybody," or whether the name was already in the Aramaic a significant expression for man ("child of man") and should mysteriously imply the Messiah as the "heavenly man." In the former case all the places in the Greek in which it signifies more cannot in that form be genuine. In the latter case, which appears to us to be the correct one, Jesus either chose this expression in order to conceal himself, or what again appears to us to be more correct, because his similarity with the "Son of Man," who should come in the glory of the Father with the angels of heaven, was to him an object of belief, something high, distant, and wonderful, a belief which with a feeling of power he soon joyfully grasped.

Even if we once accepted as historically valid everything exalted that the evangelists say of Jesus and allow him to say of himself, or if his opinion of his position in the world, and in relation to the world, were to remain a deep secret, still that is not the chief thing, not that upon which emphasis has to be placed. To-day we deem it remarkable that a man could believe that he was the king of the kingdom of God, and that a heavenly spirit dwelt in him as an objective reality; and for this reason, regarding Jesus as an overbearing fanatic, some will have nothing to do with him; others strike all these passages out of the gospels as spurious. Others, in order to accept such claims as genuine, confess belief in all these ideas, and in the doctrines of the Trinity and of the two natures of Jesus in addition. At the time of Jesus and during the early centuries of our era, all such expressions meant much less. Many came forward holding themselves to be the promised Messiah, as, for example, Simon Magus, soon after Jesus; and in the year 135 A.D. the "son of the stars," whom we have previously mentioned. Many believed in a real entrance into their breasts of a holy being from the "spiritual" world. Paul was convinced that Christ and the Holy Spirit dwelt in him, entirely upon an analogy with the idea according to which a demon dwelt in the mentally diseased and held them possessed. In considering matters of this kind we must always

obtain a true representation of the age in which they were current. The powerful, the unconscious, the overwhelming in man was understood in those days as the indwelling of another being. If Jesus believed this of himself, it was neither a sign of self-exaltation nor the proof of a unique divine nature in him: all we could say in such a case would be that we are strengthened in the conviction that since his call he felt that within him which appeared to go beyond his power. He made the experience that to have God in the heart raised man above himself. To this mysterious power that he felt operative within him, he looked up as to something superterrestrial. The saying concerning sin against the Holy Spirit, though its form may be later, seems to express this quite clearly. In it Jesus makes a sharp distinction between his own person, whom one may slander, and his precious inner possession from heaven, to slander which is to slander God: an unpardonable sin. The narratives of the baptism and the temptation express the same spirit in no less a degree, as does also a third narrative, the attack upon which has not been of such a nature as to lead us to reject it, the account of the first healing and the prayer that followed it in the night (Mark i. 23–28, 35). Surprising, even overwhelming to himself, almost against his own will, Jesus caused the "demon" to leave the sick person, and afterwards he had to compose himself in quiet prayer. Great as was the gift that God had given him in this deep mysterious power, and alluring as it may have been to attach the people to himself by such proof of wonderful powers, he was not led away by it. When his disciples sought him at dawn, he spoke firmly and calmly: "Let us go elsewhere, into the next town, that I may preach there also; for to that end came I forth."

The great thing, the thing upon which we must place all possible emphasis, is that he did not, as other so-called Messiahs, fall into self-exaltation and ostentation; but that, in fact, he had no intention of coming forward as a worker of wonders to conquer the rich of this world, but went the way of preaching, of service, and of suffering. The secret of his power he guarded modestly and delicately: even his disciples had to make conjectures with

regard to it. The source of his deepest experiences was too sacred to him to shout about it from the house-tops or in the market-place. By the time his disciples guessed it, he knew that he could tread the path of service and suffering to the end; he steadfastly set his face towards Jerusalem, "for the Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many." As previously he had seldom compared himself to a king, but often to a healer and a shepherd, so now he made the conception of a king ethically interpreted a symbol of his death. By his entry into Jerusalem he placed before his people the question of the right of his claim to be the Messiah. The hours changed from those in which he looked death in the face to those in which he thought it possible that "this cup" might pass away. The last great inheritance that he left us are those words at the Last Supper, in which, by accepting he rose above the awful "must"—more awful for him, the Messiah, than for all others, since it seemed to contradict all his faith in God and himself. He triumphed through the profound knowledge that his death would bring good to many, that his blood would consecrate the new bond between God and humanity. As the bread lay broken in his hands, the angel of death appeared to his soul and spoke to him: "That is a symbol of thy broken body"; and as the blood-red wine flowed into the cup the words forced themselves from his lips: This is my blood—of the union —shed for many. Then his faith rose triumphant to the eternal which he went to meet, and with bright expressive eyes he spoke to his disciples: "Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." And so it was. Not in the form in which he expected it, did he come again. Nevertheless these hours with their fulness have never been forgotten on earth, and the man who yet speaks to us in them still makes his triumphant march in the hearts of humanity.

CHAPTER III.

JESUS AS THE PREACHER OF A LIBERAL IDEAL OF REFORM.

THE greatest and best of those forces and ideals which made their appearance at the beginning of the century in Europe have been inherited by Liberalism. This Liberalism must not be confused with, nor judged by, our present political Liberal parties. It is something much higher than these, indeed, pitiable bodies, swayed as they are by industrial and commercial interests and false ideas of freedom. Liberalism in its true sense is to-day the fundamental spirit of our life, a spirit from which its opponents also often enough, perhaps unwittingly, obtain their power. As to-day, so at the time of its birth, it was a truly great and triumphant tendency of western thought. In reality it is but a child of the Enlightenment, idealised by the spiritual outlook of many English, German, and French writers and by German philosophy. At the same time it is the heir of the Renaissance and of the Reformation. From the former it received a noble ideal of humanity and of faith in man, who, in its view, was not born in sin as a child of wrath, a simple mass of corruption, but is the highest being on earth. Even if from such a feeling there grew up a superficial optimism and lightheartedness in self-education, and finally a somewhat vulgar degeneracy from the principle of "live and let live," still the conception was originally great and good. In any case the conception was better and greater than that condemnation of Nature and man, which through the influence of Augustine had been customary in the Church, as one of the effects produced upon it by decadent heathenism. More healthy

and far better than the doctrine of the Church in this connection was what Goethe wrote:

"Noble may man be,
Helpful and good;
For in this we see,
Of all the beings unto us known,
That which distinguishes him alone."

There was still room enough for Goethe to feel acutely that "guilt is the greatest of all evils."

From the Reformation, Liberalism learned, by the examples of the English Church and the free States of America, the principle of democratic government, which was little more than the political side of the religious idea of the freedom of the children of God. The Reformation brought the spirit of joy in everything natural and human: Luther himself revolted against those degenerate tendencies in the Church to regard everything natural as sinful.

What the ideals of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, rescued by Liberalism from the Revolution, have meant, can only be estimated by surveying in their actuality all the changes they have brought about in our western life. To appreciate what an advance humanity has made, it is only necessary to think of the intolerable compulsion to which the individual was subject previously both from Church and State: of the oppression due to the previous organisation of matters economic. Although the second half of the nineteenth century saw an energetic reaction,—arising from the forces of the Counter-Reformation, which has tried to suppress these tendencies,—and although modern political parties do everything to ruin the true spirit of Liberalism, its fundamental ideas still live.

The soul of this Liberalism was the conviction of the dignity of human nature and of the greatness of the ideals and possibilities that lie before it. In all spheres of life its effects have been manifested, in those of political organisation, education, and religion. It is in religion men have felt this most deeply, and from that the best influence has gone forth to revivify and remould all that is most valuable in our experience. Jowett, imbued with

the spirit of ancient Humanism, was one of the first to see the truth of this modern spirit, and to turn it to the rejuvenation of religious life. It is in humanity that man has to seek the knowledge of the divine. "The best of humanity is the most perfect reflection of God—humanity as it might be, not as it is—and the way up to Him is to be found in the lives of the best and greatest men: of saints, legislators and philosophers, the founders of states and the founders of religions—allowing for and seeking to correct their necessary one-sidedness. These heroes, or demi-gods, or benefactors, as they would have been called by the ancients, are the mediators between God and man. Whither they went we also are going, and may be content to follow in their footsteps."

To despise the world and to place one's thought upon a life hereafter, was discovered not to be the way to true appreciation of the great in Jesus. His "other-worldliness" was not of that kind. He condemned evil: he pointed to higher ways of life than selfishness: he taught men to trust in a heavenly Father, but through it all he meant his teaching to bear fruit in and for this life. Orthodoxy with its unattached transcendentalism and its emotional mysticism had too long forgotten this. Liberalism, in its best spirit, spoke with a calm certainty to draw men to the things of this life, where they will, if at all, find Christ. "Christ will appear to us not in the extraordinary, but in the common, in the dwellings of the poor, in the daily life of the family, in the integrity of trade, in the peace of nations. The increase of justice and truth, of knowledge and love, the diminution of suffering and disease, of ignorance and crime, the living for others and not for ourselves, to do the will of God more and more and not their own will, these are the only real signs in individuals or in nations that the kingdom of God has come among them." The ideal is high, and it was under its influence that many of the best writers worked, who, like Jowett, called in question the earlier statements of the meaning of Jesus. These fundamental truths were placed over against those views that regarded the physical death and resurrection of Jesus as having some magical effect of salvation from sin; as reconciling men to God by satisfying the divine

"justice"; or worse, by paying a ransom to the devil. Such conceptions have no foundation in our records: "their growth may be traced in ecclesiastical development." "The only sacrifice, atonement, or satisfaction with which the Christian has to do is a moral and spiritual one." We shall see how in actual life and research these principles found expression.

He who glances back to the spring days of Liberalism, to those times when men had to suffer and be patient for these ideas, will find much that is great and good, and will gain in hope and confidence that their work and sacrifices will yet bring forth their proper fruit. There was in these men a spirit of freedom and honest effort, nobleness and kindness, that cannot be permanently lost. Everywhere amongst them we find the traits of men, good, bold, and honourable, striving after the truth.

One of these was Ernest Renan, whose *Life of Jesus* was the "gospel" of this view of life, and in its passionate and romantic manner distinctly characterises the springtime of European Liberalism, though it has a certain insincere sentimentality which only pertains to a few men of that time, and those not the best.

Ernest Renan.

To conceive Renan's *Life of Jesus*, which first appeared in 1863, only as the production of a temporary state of feeling would nevertheless be wrong. In spite of all the adverse criticism which would place it entirely in the realm of romance, it is a learned and scientific book, at the highest level of the theology of its time, and produced with the means that stood at the command of a man who was well acquainted with German theological research. Renan had read the work of Strauss and had turned it to good account. He approved of the most important of his conclusions, although he is more conservative in the use of the gospel of John, and in the elimination of the spurious; and, further, he will have us speak of legends, whose historical kernel he was confident of extracting, rather than of myths. He also appreciates better than Strauss the uncertainty of our historical knowledge, and, in

order to make this clear, he often uses the expression "it seems" or "it is thought." Nevertheless he stands at the point of view of that criticism for which there is nothing miraculous; for him Jesus is a man, and his body did not rise from the grave.

It was not simply the critic and the scholar, but also the artist and the tale-teller who wrote this Life of Jesus. With the eyes of a French poet of Nature, Renan had himself looked upon the land and people of Palestine, and the strange, bewitching charm which permeates the whole, clearly reveals that this book was written "in the hut of a Maronite on Lebanon." With striking contrasts Renan has conjured before our minds the clear, bright country land of Galilee and the dark, sad Jerusalem: the contrast of the landscapes suggests the fate that the prophet of Galilee might have expected in the capital of his country. "With its solemn doctors, its insipid canonists, its hypocritical and splenetic devotees, Jerusalem would not have conquered humanity. The north has given to the world the simple Shunamite, the humble Canaanite, the passionate Magdalene, the good foster-father Joseph, and the virgin Mary. It was the north alone that created Christianity; Jerusalem, on the other hand, was the true home of the stubborn Judaism which, founded by the Pharisees and fixed by the Talmud, has traversed the Middle Ages and come down to us.

"A beautiful natural environment contributes to the formation of the much less austere spirit—the less rigidly monotheistic spirit, if I may so say—which gives a charming and idyllic character to all the dreams of Galilee. The region surrounding Jerusalem is perhaps the saddest country in the world. Galilee, on the contrary, was a very green, shady, smiling land, the true home of the Song of Songs, and the songs of the well-beloved. During the months of March and April the country is a carpet of flowers of incomparable variety of colours. The animals are small, but extremely gentle. Turtle doves, delicate and playful; blackbirds so light that they rest on a blade of grass without bending it; tufted larks, which venture almost to the feet of the traveller; little river tortoises with soft bright eyes; storks with a grave and modest mien, casting aside all fear,—all allow man to come quite near to

them; seem, indeed, to invite his approach. In no country in the world do the mountains extend with more harmonious outlines or inspire higher thoughts. Jesus seems to have had an especial love for them. The most important events of his divine career took place upon the mountains. It was there that he was best inspired; it was there that he had mystic communion with the ancient prophets; and it was there in his transfiguration that he was revealed to the eyes of his disciples."

Thus Renan looked upon the land with the eye at the same time of a scholar and of an artist, who is able to make a distant past rise up again from the ruins which remain. It is not difficult, therefore, for us to understand how he was able to say: "Before my eyes was a fifth gospel, lacerated but still readable; and so in the records of Matthew and of Mark instead of an abstract being whose existence might be denied, I saw an admirable human figure, full of life and movement."

These five gospels, as he sees them, are but the product of Renan's own life. The oppositions in which his Jesus moves are the contrasts of his own experience: here, the young Galilean prophet devoted to everything good, open, and frank in the noblest sense, with a true love of Nature and of women; there, the gloomy priests, theologians, and lawyers of Jerusalem: this is the picture of his own fate. For with severe conflicts, both internal and external, he had passed beyond the narrow bounds of the theological seminary to the free view of life of his maturity. Even if historically there is a certain justification in the picture of Jesus sketched in these contrasts, through the sharpness of the oppositions and the mode of their representation, it has turned out much too modern.

After the manner of a modern biography, Renan tells us first of the childhood of Jesus, of his education and of his first impressions in the house of his parents. As actual information here fails us, this description of the home of Jesus is simply inferred from the general conditions of the contemporary education and home-life. The procedure and the result are mechanical, yet there are many fine traits which as far as general statements are concerned must often approximate to truth.

We have historical sources first from the beginning of the public life of Jesus; Renan, like John, divides this period into three parts, each of which is distinct in the life of Jesus.

Upon the background of that enchanting Nature a charming idyll evolves. The young builder and carpenter goes forth to proclaim the God that he has discovered. "The God of Jesus is not the relentless master who kills us, damns us, or saves us, according to His good pleasure. The God of Jesus is our Father. We hear Him when we listen to His gentle voice which breathes within us, 'Father.' The God of Jesus is not the unjust despot who has chosen Israel for His people and especially protects them. He is the God of humanity." From this faith in God, Jesus derives a moral conception of remarkable depth, and this he expresses in striking aphorisms, as, for example, in those collected together in the Sermon on the Mount. This morality was not that of enthusiasts who believed the world was near its end, and who by asceticism prepared themselves for a chimerical catastrophe; it was that of a world of men who had lived and still would live. "Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you; pray for those who despitefully use you." "Then for some months, perhaps a year, God truly dwelt on earth. The voice of the young carpenter suddenly acquired a wonderful sweetness. From his person an infinite charm was breathed forth; those who had seen him up to that time no longer recognised him. As yet he had no disciples, and the group of men who gathered round him formed neither sect nor school; but already felt a common spirit, a sweet penetrating influence. His lovable character, accompanied doubtless by one of those beautiful faces occasionally to be seen in the Jewish race, threw around him a circle of charm, from which none in the midst of these kind, simple people could escape.

"Indeed, Paradise would have been brought down to earth had not the ideas of the young master far transcended the level of ordinary goodness, above which it was impossible to raise the human race."

Thus, "the whole history of nascent Christianity has in

this way become a delightful pastoral. A Messiah at the marriage feast—the courtesan and the good Zacchæus bidden to his feasts —the founders of the Kingdom of Heaven like a bridal procession —that is what Galilee has dared to offer and made the world accept. Greece has drawn admirable pictures of human life in sculpture and poetry, but they are ever without receding backgrounds and distant horizons. In Galilee the marble, the skilled craftsmen, the exquisite and refined language were wanting. Yet Galilee has created for popular imagination the sublimest ideal; for, behind its idyll the destiny of humanity is being decided, and the light which illuminates its picture is the sun of the Kingdom of God."

The charming idyll under the ever blue sky in the valleys of Galilee was broken by the powerful call to repentance sounded by the gloomy prophet John, who announced the speedy end of the world. Jesus hastened to him, and, carried away by the strength of his powerful personality, became his disciple and was baptized by him. The influence of John did Jesus more harm than good. The gentle and pious preacher of divine and human goodness became a religious revolutionary, who would renew the foundations of the world and establish an ideal Kingdom upon earth. The idea of the Kingdom of God became changed from implying something internal to something external: it became apocalyptical. A great change was to bring about the end of the world, the end of Nature, the end of evil. It was not from below, but from above, from God, that Jesus expected the change. In this event Jesus would play the chief rôle as the Messiah and the judge of the world. If formerly he had thought of his divine sonship only as something religious, as a relationship of love between God and himself, so now it became messianic and apocalyptic. Jesus came to regard himself as the reformer of the whole world: the heavens and the earth, Nature, sickness, and death are only means in his hands. His consciousness extended far beyond the human.

Returned from Jordan he passed on to Capernaum, where a crowd of disciples now gathered around him, men, women, and

children. And so his wandering life went on: his joy became deeper and deeper in the hope of the speedy advent of the glorious Kingdom of Heaven. Blessed are the poor and the suffering, the mournful, the merciful, and the pure in heart! His disciples led a life of poverty, a life marked by meekness, and, renouncing wealth and possession, lived in a community based not upon law, but upon the affections, upon love and hope. An assembly of happy children, who had found consolation and the peace of their heart in God, they passed from place to place and waited for the Kingdom of God which was to bring the supremacy of the poor. A first attempt to carry his movement to Jerusalem failed because of the unfruitfulness of the soil: his naïve country followers were an object of amusement to the haughty and hard-hearted inhabitants of Jerusalem. He fell into conflict with the national authorities for the first time by the cleansing of the temple. He began to regard Judaism with disfavour, and the priests began to hate him even unto death.

From this time Jesus turned to those who by Jewish orthodoxy were held to be lost and damned, publicans and sinners, Samaritans and heathen. The last year of his life commenced. Hope and excitement became ever more and more violent and fantastic. Already legends were formed with the object of magnifying his person: miracles of healing took place through the great faith of his followers, but he himself became more and more sad and oppressed in spirit. He felt the hardness of his life as a wandering beggar: the foxes have holes, the birds have nests, but the Son of Man hath nowhere to lay his head. He felt that the conflict upon which he had entered was to be one of life and death.

He prepared to go to the den of lions, to Jerusalem. The time of those calm peaceful days is far behind: step by step he must now traverse the path of sorrows that would only end in the anguish of death. In Jerusalem a wall of opposition was raised against him. Among the people here his words fell upon stony ground; here were lacking the youthfulness, imagina-

tion, and purity of heart in which alone those words could strike root. So Jesus became a gloomy prophet of denunciation, who declared to his opponents, the chief rulers and the Pharisees, the awful vengeance of Heaven. Even to his disciples he became strange, only in isolated hours did the old joy live again, and only in suffering itself did he appear once more in his first gentleness and beauty.

"He might still have escaped death, but he would not. Love of his work sustained him. He was willing to drink the cup to the dregs. Henceforth we behold Jesus entirely himself and with his character unclouded. The subtleties of the controversialists, the credulity of the thaumaturgist and exorcist, are forgotten. There remains but the incomparable hero of the Passion, the founder of the rights of free conscience, the complete exemplar whom all suffering souls will contemplate to fortify and console themselves."

Renan dares the highest: to speak at the grave to Jesus: "Rest now in thy glory, noble pioneer! Thy work is achieved, thy divinity established. Fear no more to see the edifice of thine efforts crumble through a flaw. Henceforth, beyond the reach of frailty, thou shalt behold, from the height of heavenly peace, the infinite consequences of thy deeds. At the price of some hours of suffering, which have not even touched thy mighty soul, thou hast purchased the fullest immortality. For thousands of years the world will depend upon thee! Banner of our contradiction, thou shalt be the sign around which the fiercest battle shall be waged. A thousand times more alive, a thousand times more loved, since thy death than during the days of thy pilgrimage here, thou shalt become so truly the corner-stone of humanity that to tear thy name from the world were to shake its foundations. Betwixt thee and God men shall distinguish no more. Thou that hast utterly vanquished death, take possession of thy kingdom, whither, by the royal road which thou hast shown, thousands of worshippers shall follow thee."

Jesus, the hero of a tragedy which the artist compels us to take part in ourselves: it was that which was attractive in the

book: it was that which enraptured Europe. Just in this, however, lies its greatest weaknesses. For our sources do not suffice for such a description. An advanced historical research has condemned the book taken as a whole: such research must abstain entirely from undertaking a life of Jesus on the plan of a romance.

An examination of the book from the point of view of art, notwithstanding all the pleasure that is produced by matters of detail, quickly shows us that Renan lacked before all else a real sympathy with the hero that he had chosen. The spirit of Romanticism is too evident, and there is too much sentiment and modern scepticism in the book.

Doubt concerning ultimate realities and values, the want of a firm hold upon the eternal, in spite of all the noble disposition and of all the earnestness which simply cannot be denied, allows Renan to give way here and there to a tone out of all accord with his subject. In describing the amiable proletarian prophet of Nazareth, he often assumes a self-complacent and well-meaning superiority. Jesus could not have found it troublesome to play for a while the life of a beggar and wanderer without the restraint of a family and definite work. It is, indeed, correct that such a life in the south and in the east cannot be placed upon the same footing with a similar life in a more northern climate, and in different social conditions. Nevertheless, Jesus' life was certainly no such idyll as Renan supposes. We cannot place all his hard sayings into the last days: sayings like that concerning the Son of Man having nowhere to lay his head, so full of grief. That he was poor was not the chief thing in the wandering life of Jesus. The separation from his home and from his loved ones was not easy for him. He had done as the merchant and the labourer in the parables did: he had given up all for a costly pearl, for a treasure in the ground, and he must have endured many painful hours before he uttered the saying: "He that doeth the will of God, he is my mother and my brother," and before he could venture to say: "He who does not hate father and mother, wife and child, brother and sister, and his

own life also, cannot be my disciple." Renan created that tender type of Jesus, full of mild melancholy, to whom at that time charming women could render homage and love, as in the sentimental period in the middle of the century they willingly did. This "gentle Jesus," true brother of the Pietist's, "most beautiful Lord Jesus," "more beautiful than the fields and the woods in the glorious springtime," has permeated us like a subtle poison. Deplored by Nietzsche; left on one side with a shrug of the shoulders by strong men; this figure has been changed a little for the better, with regard to the troubles of life, to the form of the Buddhist monk. Nothing has been a greater or more persistent obstacle than this to the true conception of Jesus in his power and in his earnestness.

Evidence of this is not wanting; in some cases it is repulsive and painful. With a hardly perceptible smile, Renan here and there substitutes half insinuations and allusions for historical criticism. "Many times Jesus used an ingenious artifice which Jeanne d'Arc also used: he feigned the knowledge of a secret about a man whom he wished to win, or he recalled something back to his memory which was dear to his heart." Thus Renan comes to a settlement with the record of a miracle (John i. 48–50) which suggests quite other traits than those of legends. He suggests that the resurrection of Lazarus was an unpardonable deception played by the sisters upon the Master.

Even if we do not condemn Renan we are justified in saying that he lacked the unflinching seriousness of will, and the inward faith that are necessary really to understand the historical Jesus. The goodness, serenity, and gentleness of Jesus cover the mighty depths of his power only as the white foam on the dark waves of the sea.

Renan did not quite understand what the work of Jesus involved. He looked upon Jesus as a reformer in the realm of religion and morality, a man with definite principles, which it was his hope to establish in the life of the people. "A pure worship, a religion without priests and external observances, resting wholly on the feelings of the heart, on the imitation of

God, on the close communion of the conscience with the heavenly Father, were the results of these principles."

From the need of his own life he sees Jesus primarily as the destroyer of the infallible sacerdotal Church. In direct contradiction with historical records Renan asserts: "The abolition of the sacrifices . . . the suppression of the impious and haughty priesthood, and in a general sense, the abrogation of the law, seemed to him absolutely essential."

The great problem of his time in France, that of the Roman Church in conflict with the State, is expressed in the tones with which he proclaims the plain saying of Jesus: "'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Such were the profound words which decided the future of Christianity, words of the most perfect spirituality and of marvellous justice, which established the separation of the spiritual from the temporal, and laid the foundation of true liberalism and true civilisation." The point of view under which he surveys and estimates the whole work of Jesus is this: "That which Jesus established, that which will remain eternal, when all the imperfections common to everything with which men are associated are passed over, is the doctrine of spiritual freedom." Alongside of this fundamental motive of the book there are others.

The Liberal joy in culture, and the impulse for reform, could never, by this soft disposition, overcome the weariness that since the time of Rousseau had ever and anon manifested itself in the finest spirits. Renan's description of that charming idyll on the sea of Gennesareth has certainly grown out of the culture-wearied desire of the modern world for a simple happy life with and in Nature. "They did truly ring in the Kingdom of God: simple, good, happy, they rocked gently upon their lovely small lake, or slept in the evenings upon its shore. It is hardly possible for us to imagine the charm of such a life passed under the open sky; the sweetness, the warm emotion that was produced by the constant intercourse with Nature; the dreams in these nights with the glitter of the stars, under the dark blue sky with its infinite

depth." "In our busy civilisation the memory of the free life of Galilee has been like a sweet odour from another world, like the 'dew of Hermon' which has kept the fields of God from succumbing entirely to drought and grossness."

Renan was influenced also by the social ideas of his time. A certain romantic inclination towards the mass of the people is expressed in many of his words, particularly in the preface to the popular edition of his *Life of Jesus*. Here again it may be his own experience that leads him to speak so.

"Perhaps in this society, outside the usual organised bodies, Jesus found more tenderness and affection than in a stiff middle class, bound by etiquette, and very proud of its external honour." Certainly his Socialism is not of the materialistic character that Socialism is so often represented to be, but something quite other.

"The 'socialistic' efforts of our time will remain unfruitful until they make the true spirit of Jesus their rule of conduct, I mean that absolute idealism, the fundamental principle that man in order to possess the earth must renounce it. For they are bound up with a crude materialism which strives for the impossible, that is, to establish general welfare by the methods of politics and economics." These matters must be treated at much greater length in a later section of this book. How rich Renan's mind was, and how many of our modern thoughts are reflected in him, may easily be seen.

Matthew Arnold.

With characteristics similar in many ways to those of Renan, Matthew Arnold, as no other Englishman of the century except Carlyle, rose up against the superficiality of modern civilisation, and the external continuance of old religious forms without the inner spirit. He fought alike against the glib and half-sincere utterances of the political Liberals and religious nonconformists, as against the assumptions of the hereditary aristocrats and the traditional formalism of the State Church. In opposition he preached a gospel of simplicity, sincerity, and real culture: and in this spirit he considered the nature of Christianity and Jesus.

His attitude cannot be understood apart from his method of criticism and his principles of study of religious writings: in this method and these principles he has made his greatest contribution to theological study. In *Literature and Dogma*: An Essay towards the better appreciation of the Bible, published in 1873, he contended that the prime question for theology is the relation between language and religious experience, and he stated and applied to the study of the Bible his own view of this relation. Distinction must be made between the literary or poetic and the scientific use of language. The language of the Bible, the language of religion, is poetic, not scientific. Theologians have taken Biblical language as scientific, and hence has arisen difficulty and confusion. This has been markedly so with reference to messianic ideas which were really poetical. "Jesus came calling himself the Messiah, the Son of God: and the question is, what is the true meaning of these assertions of his, and of all his teaching? . . . Is the language scientific, or is it, as we say, *literary*?—the language, that is, of poetry and emotion, approximative language, thrown out as it were at certain objects which the human mind augurs and feels after, but not language accurately defining them?" For Arnold there is no doubt as to the answer, and he sees that what is called "orthodox divinity" is, in fact, an immense literary misapprehension.

The Jews, their prophets, and Jesus, did not mean a great personal first cause by their God, but "the eternal," "a Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." In the intuition of that Power "the Hebrew found the revelation needed to breathe emotion into the laws of morality and to make morality religion." Like Kant and so many writers in the nineteenth century,—like Mill, for example,—Arnold had not broken free from the tendency to regard religion as dependent upon and little more than morality. It was the spirit of the Rationalists and Deists living on from the eighteenth century.

After consideration of the use of language, attention must be set upon the beliefs that prevailed when the records were made. At the time when the gospels were composed, belief in miracles

was natural. The disciples of Jesus and the evangelists were not impostors. "It was superiority enough in them to attach themselves firmly to Jesus: to feel at the bottom of their hearts that power of his words, which alone held permanently—held when the miracles, in which the multitudes believed as well as the disciples, failed to hold. The good faith of the Bible writers is above all question: it speaks for itself: and the very same criticism which shows us the defects of their exegesis and of their demonstration from miracles, establishes their good faith. But this could not and did not prevent them from arguing in the methods by which every one around them argued, and from expecting miracles where everybody else expected them." To suppose accommodation on the part of Jesus to the fancies and expectations of his hearers, to the extent that would be necessary, is impossible.

Arnold advocated "culture"; and has indeed been called "The Apostle of Culture." What did he mean by it? Culture is the pursuit of our total perfection. It is something inward and growing, and not possible in isolation. In its spirit he revolted against the tendency of Englishmen to regard English greatness and welfare as proved by wealth. Culture "helps us by means of its spiritual standard of perfection, not merely to regard wealth as machinery, but really to perceive and to feel that it is so." Unfortunately, Arnold gave no concrete statement of ideals, although he saw that they are social in implication. "The pursuit of perfection is the pursuit of sweetness and light. He who works for sweetness and light works to make reason and the will of God prevail." "It is not satisfied till we *all* come to a perfect man."

In distinction from the "mistaken theology" of the Church, Arnold's views on Christianity and the Christian ideal of culture centre around the personality of Jesus. For him Christianity is not a question of creed, but solely of the character of Jesus and his teachings. "The immense pathos of his life and death," he wrote in *Last Essays on Church and Religion*, "does really culminate here, that Christians have so profoundly misunderstood

him." Christian theologians had erred as the Jews of old, and so Arnold raised the question: "What did Jesus do? From his countrymen's errors about righteousness he reverted to the solid, authentic, universal fact about it: the fact of the higher and lower self in man, inheritors the one of them of happiness, the other of misery. He possessed himself of it, he made it the centre of his teaching. He made it so in the well-known formula, his *secret*, 'He that will save his life shall lose it; he that loses his life shall save it.' The Christian idea of charity is the solidarity of men; the only real happiness of others counts with a man as essential as his own."

Christianity begins and ends with the kingdom of God. The disciples thought of this as a sudden outward transformation, nevertheless they report sayings of Jesus in contradiction to this, according to which the change is inward and comes about by slow natural growth—like the mustard seed. Jesus succeeded where the prophets failed because of his method. *Repentance* unto life, and *Peace* through Jesus Christ, those are really his method and his secret. The spirit of Jesus is a "sweet reasonableness." The remarkable thing is that Jesus by the report of his critics uses scriptures in a totally different manner from the Jewish scholars. The disciples themselves report their Master's condemnation of them involved in his sentence, "The kingdom of God is within you."

Of Jesus himself, Arnold confessed: "We cannot explain him, cannot get behind him and above him, cannot command him. He is therefore the perfection of an ideal, and it is as an ideal that the divine has its best worth and reality. The unerring and consummate felicity of Jesus, his prepossessingness, his *grace and truth*, are, moreover, at the same time the law for right performance on all man's great lines of endeavour, although the Bible deals with the line of conduct only." Of the future of the religion of Jesus, Arnold had no doubt: "Christianity will find the ways for its own future. What is certain is that it will not disappear. Whatever progress may be made in science, art, and literary culture,—however much higher, more general and more

effective than at present the value for them may become,—Christianity will still be there as what these rest against and imply; as the indispensable background, *the three-fourths of life.*"

To those, who through the development of Natural Science, had been led into an agnosticism as to the ultimate questions of life, to an abandonment of all fundamental religious and metaphysical beliefs, the teaching of Arnold came as a welcome explanation of their religious experience. Like the advice given by Goethe, it was a position in which a man might rest till a fuller and stronger faith came to him. For the majority of men it could never do. Arnold's account of the teaching of Jesus, while in part it entered into its spirit, lacked its concreteness. He did not allow sufficiently for a blending together of the factual and the poetical: he did not recognise that the poetical may, and to be stable must, have its basis in the actual; that the language of the Bible though in part poetical and literary, is also in part scientific and historical. It is certainly most important that we should grasp first the religious meaning of the Bible, but it is essential that we should know, by careful historical criticism, what is fact in that which is related. Concrete aims for individual and social life are implied in the life and teaching of Jesus as historically studied: the message of Jesus is something more than that of "repentance," "peace," of "sweetness and light," that "the Kingdom of God is within you"; it is also the basis of the regeneration of this life; the formation of a real brotherhood of actual service here and now; and more than all, it is the enunciation for all life of the principle of dying to live. There was nothing sufficiently firm in Arnold's presentation of religion, and it harmonised too much with that "gentle Jesus" of Renan, to have a very enduring influence.

A pietistic and sentimental conception of Jesus and of Christianity was common in the early years and the middle of the century, especially in England, through the continuous influence of the revivals of Wesley and Whitefield. Along with belief in salvation by "the blood of Jesus," Jesus was sung of as "gentlest Saviour"; and the life he taught was represented as

one of docile simplicity. Even the humanitarianism of the age became enfeebling; being based rather on the pain of seeing suffering than on the desire to fight manfully against it in the true interests of the sufferer. As an attempt to combat these tendencies we may consider a book by the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, entitled *The Manliness of Christ*, published in 1879. Hughes stated that there was an underlying belief in the then rising generation that Christianity appealed habitually, and must appeal, to men's fears, to their timidity rather than to their courage. The life of Jesus, on the contrary, was one of conflict from beginning to end. He had to contend "not only against the established powers of Palestine, but against the highest aspirations of the best of his countrymen. These very messianic hopes, in fact, proved the stumbling-block in his path. Those who entertained them most vividly had the greatest difficulty in accepting the carpenter's son as the promised deliverer. Only a few days before the end, he had sorrowfully to warn the most intimate and loving of his companions and disciples, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of.'" The courage of Jesus was not simply physical, but the greatest of all courage, the witnessing of truth in face of all. "When a man or woman is called on to stand by what approves itself to their conscience as true, and to protest for it through evil report and good report, against all discouragement and opposition *from those they love and respect*," that is the most searching of all trials of courage and manliness. Jesus must have shrunk back at times from following the call he felt, especially during the long period before he commenced his ministry. "Think," says Hughes, "over this long probation, and ask yourselves whether it is easy, whether it is possible, to form any higher ideal of perfect manliness." He must also have asked himself, "Who gave thee this authority?" The story of the temptation as we have it shows no signs of weakness in Jesus. Hughes does not discuss the subject, but he appears to take that story as having a basis in historical fact. Jesus is represented as being alone in the wilderness; so it could not be recounted by an eye-witness. If it

were told by Jesus, it would seem to be more of the nature of a parable. It certainly does not bear the stamp of actuality. However, there are objections to taking it in its present form as told by Jesus. For it was early in his ministry that Jesus was "led by the spirit into the wilderness," and, nevertheless, it involves the conception of the sonship of God, in the later sense of that doctrine. The present form of the story seems to us to be a production of a later period. The spirit and religious teaching is none the less clear. We may suppose with Hughes that it refers to a time of crisis in the life of Jesus. "There is scarcely any life of first-rate importance to the world in which we do not find a crisis corresponding to this, but the nearest parallel must be sought amongst those men, the greatest of their kind, who have founded or recast one of the great religions of the world." In the Sermon on the Mount there are utterances which for their courage are without a parallel in history. The same spirit is manifested in all his teaching. "He never for one moment accommodates his life or teaching to any standard but the highest: never lowers or relaxes that standard by a shade or a hair's breadth, neither to make the road easy to rich or powerful questioners, nor to uphold the spirit of the poorer followers when they are startled and uneasy, as they begin half-blindly to recognise what spirit they are of."

"The great lesson we shall learn from Christ's life, the more earnestly and faithfully we study it, is that 'For this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, to bear witness to the truth.'" The strength found in his life, he showed also in his death. "In all the world's annals there is nothing which approaches in the sublimity of its courage that last conversation between the peasant prisoner, by this time a mass of filth and blood, and the Roman procurator, before Pilate led him forth for the last time and pleaded scornfully with the nation for the life of their king."

Hughes wrote with a special purpose, against a specific tendency and a definite charge. He did not study the sources scientifically. Even from an ordinary reading of the gospel he

might have found many striking concrete examples of courage on the part of Jesus, as, for example, the cleansing of the temple, and his actions with regard to the Sabbath, and the woman taken in adultery. The service Hughes performed was an important one. There is a courage higher than that of the soldier in war, or even of the miner going to save his comrades. To face—not simply death—but *life* in poverty and against continued antagonism for the sake of truth, is far harder, if only for the fact that it requires persistent and calm determination. Christianity has failed in the main owing to the lack of courage on the part of those who have professed it. In matters of intellectual truth and social justice the churches, in order to avoid severe poverty, have accommodated and still do accommodate themselves to the spirit of the rich and well-placed. Happily, in every branch of life there are some who will leave all, if necessary, to follow truth. That alone is Christian courage, and to emphasise this in the life of Jesus, was the object of the too-little-remembered work of Thomas Hughes.

D. F. Strauss, "A New Life of Jesus."

Nearly thirty years after completing the great work of his youth, Strauss attempted the task of writing a popular Life of Jesus.

His first book had thrown him off the track; outwardly and inwardly it had cost him his life's blood. The enmity with which his pietistic opponents had persecuted him never allowed him any peace, and that together with the unspeakable amount of literary work to which he was forced in the years from 1835 to 1841, lowered his efficiency. To this must be added that Feuerbach's writings had robbed him of all the religion that Hegel had left him. Wearied, he had for many years turned away from theology and applied himself to history. Some brilliant biographies of Hutten, Voltaire, and others give evidence of his high capacity for work in this sphere.

When he proceeded to his highest biographical task, one

which has been passed on from generation to generation unsolved, to the life of Jesus, his power proved insufficient. Religion, which alone makes a true understanding of Jesus possible, he could regard only as "mental imbecility," and the long and careful study of the works of Reimarus and Voltaire had once more deepened the tendencies of the eighteenth century in his thought.

Strauss now spoke of Jesus from a definite point of view as Reimarus had done before: that his dominant idea was that the service of God outlined by Moses did not correspond to the true nature of religion. It was his intention by the careful expansion of this view to lead to a change in the conception of the nature of Jewish religion. Jesus is supposed to have held it possible, and to have purposed to bring the Jewish people gradually so far along the way of moral and religious instruction, as to eliminate more and more the outward ceremonies, purifications, and perhaps also sacrifices. Jesus withdrew from the guardianship of the recognised spiritual leaders and confided himself to the guidance of men who were brought up in the spirit of genuine piety. We have here, in short, religious reform in the sense of Liberalism, by means of careful instruction. In its essence this was what Renan intended; Strauss did not sketch so warmly, so historically, or with so much colour as he; and his descriptions were commonplace and lacking in intensity, compared with those of Renan.

In the second place, Jesus was for Strauss an ethical reformer, a constructive spirit of humanity's ideal, and indeed one of the greatest. Jesus insisted upon new, or not sufficiently emphasised traits in the ideal—patience, gentleness, and love of man. This statement, we may say in passing, is not correct. All these aspects of the ideal had been independently presented both before and at the time of Jesus. The great advance in morality that was made by Jesus was rather that he transformed it from a following of statutory moral laws to an ethic of good disposition: not merely murder, but also hate is wrong; not merely adultery, but an impure look. To have completely

spiritualised morality and thereby to have deepened it profoundly, to have brought to an end the legal view of morality, and to have inaugurated a morality of purity of heart—that is what Jesus accomplished in this sphere.

Strauss thought it impossible to regard Jesus as the teacher of a perfect and complete morality. "Even the life of man in the family is left by the teacher, himself childless, in the background; his relation towards the body politic seems purely passive; with trade he is not only by reason of his calling unconcerned, but very visibly adverse; and everything relating to art and the enjoyment of the elegancies of life, is absolutely outside his range of view. That these are important defects no one will attempt to deny,—for the simple reason that no one can deny it."

The defects so stated are due to the standard that is applied. Strauss is not concerned with the quality of the morality taught and lived by Jesus, but with the question whether Jesus rightly appreciated and valued quantitatively all the factors of the life of culture. A standard morality for good citizens, for all men, is asked of Jesus; and yet, says Strauss, the inward and personal nature of Jesus' moral ideal, involves that his doctrine was only suitable for himself and his immediate disciples: only occasionally did he speak with reference to people in general.

In spite of this view, it is here that Strauss has found the most beautiful words he has to say about Jesus. It must indeed be an unsensitive mind that does not feel the charm of his personality. "The contemplation of God in relation to men generally, under the form of a Father, is a conception foreign to the Old Testament. Jesus made it the fundamental idea of the relation of God to man: but his doing so can only have been the suggestion of his own mind; it can only have been the consequence of the fact that indiscriminate benevolence was the original principle of his own nature, and that he was in this conscious of his own harmony with God. . . . But the most exalted religious spirit living in his consciousness was that comprehensive love which overcame evil only by the good, and

which therefore he transferred to God as the fundamental principle of His nature." Although in this passage there is much that is not quite correct—yet as in religion nothing is invented, but something is experienced, just in this way or that, and not otherwise, so the main feature of the character of Jesus is inferred very finely from his faith in God. None the less good is what he says in the following passage concerning the feelings of Jesus. "In so far as Jesus, by the spirit of human love and the actions that flow from it, was elevated above all the hindrances and limitations of human life, and felt himself one with his heavenly Father, there arose for him an inward blessedness, compared with which all external joys and sorrows lost their importance. Hence that cheerful absence of care which, in the presence of anxiety about food and clothing, refers to God who clothes the lilies and feeds the sparrows: hence the contentment with a life of wandering which often offered no place to lay his head; hence the indifference to external honour or contempt, in the consciousness of being the bearer and the messenger of the mind of God to men. Hence that love for children, who in their harmless and unpretending nature, untainted by pride and hatred, come nearest to that blessed spirit of love, and offer themselves on the other hand as the most obvious objects of it." "This cheerful, tranquil tone, this course of action proceeding from the pleasure and joyousness of a bright spirit, we call the Hellenic element in Jesus." Strauss' nature must have been kindly enough to have seen this side of Jesus: that for which he lacks understanding is the great, the powerful, the inexorable, in Jesus: in that, Jesus was to him unsympathetic and gruesome.

The best and most exhaustive part of the book is that in which Strauss treats of the mythical history of Jesus, repeating the work of his youth, not in the manner of research, but in that of description. Though the account is excellent, and even to-day has much to teach us, by the aid of new research we have made progress beyond it. He describes the growth of the conception of Christ in the Church: "We shall recognise the first

effect of what Jesus was, in the belief in his resurrection, that soon arose amongst his disciples; but we shall find the idea then formed of him associated with so much feeling, that there could not but be with reference to him a most abundant growth of unhistorical stories, each of which was more wonderful than the preceding. The divinely-inspired son of David became the virgin-born son of God; the son of God was then regarded as the creative Word become flesh: the benevolent healer became the raiser of the dead, the all-powerful Lord over Nature and all its laws; the wise teacher of the people, the prophet who saw into men's hearts, gives place to the idea of an omniscient being co-equal with the Father: he who in his ascension returned to God, also came forth from God, was in the beginning with God, and his life on earth was only a short episode, by which, for the good of men, he interrupted his eternal existence with God."

Taken as a whole this book is much inferior to his first Life of Jesus. Strauss was now far advanced in years, and he lacked the power of reconstruction and of artistic form, as well as the original ideas necessary for so difficult a task.

The Theology of Early Liberalism.

Deeper and more earnest were the theologians who, in the difficult years of ecclesiastical and political reaction, worked at the great task of the life of Jesus, entirely in the sense and with the spirit of the first idealistic Liberalism, that fine civic culture that guarded the best inheritance of early ideals, though possibly too much tinged with sentimentalism. In reality they came too late. Only one, by far not the best of them, was still heard: the Heidelberg professor, Schenkel. The forces of reaction in the Church rose against him, and for this reason the left wing, dominated by political interests, hoped to use him as a means in the conflict. From that time it was nearly always so in such cases: deep and earnest men, who wished to speak purely as scholars to the people, were hardly heard. One of the finest

of these, Moritz Carrière, voiced once more the old complaint of Schleiermacher's, previously referred to; a complaint that afterwards sounds through every decade: "The unsatisfactoriness of a one-sided philosophy, the longing for a more genuinely moral organisation of life, the necessity of religion as the support, the consolation, and the delight of men has become evident. Yet by the very course that history is accustomed to take through opposites, many have turned at once to so-called Positivism, without questioning its justification. Strength for the future is being sought in return to points of view already abandoned in the past, because they gave no lasting satisfaction. Thus some have believed it possible completely to ignore the criticism of centuries; they fall over one another in their haste to maintain a crude doctrinalism. The question that is asked is not 'what is right?' but 'what is the precept, the rule?' not 'what is true?' but 'what was declared by the Council of Trent?'

"Many thought it necessary to warn youth of philosophy as if it were evil and led one from heavenly bliss just as it does from daily bread. It was also thought possible to revive the authority of the letter of the scriptures. The reaction against this tendency followed immediately: it came in that crude materialism that turns away from everything religious with indifference, even with hate and scorn. Nevertheless, with some a blind faith in authority grew up, and orthodoxy, supposing itself to be free from philosophy, gave for its justification not reasons, but names and quotations."

The principal philosophical theologians of those days were unable to check the disease which, first inwardly then outwardly, reduced Liberalism. The people of western Europe have really been torn into two halves in a conflict of cultures; two cultures that are hardly yet conscious of their own nature in the life of the feelings and of the spirit. Both traditionalism and radicalism have for long oppressed the spiritual. Liberalism, become rich, has sold its soul for "progress and achievement" in a purely mechanical and external civilisation, under which art and religion suffer.

The cause of this lay in part in Idealism itself: becoming ever more and more æsthetic and literary, it gradually lost its power over the people. When clever radical speakers made their appearance and commenced the work of arousing the masses, Idealism was not in a form suitable to determine their real education. To Idealism of the prevailing type everything had a rosy appearance. The theologians, to their credit, remained the most earnest, and from their ranks came again and again the call for change. Nevertheless, they also were, as a rule, too happy in their relation to the State and to culture, too literary, and too little acquainted with the people, to understand completely what was striving from the depths to come to the light of day. This may be seen quite distinctly in the ways they represent Jesus.

The finest and perhaps the most spiritual of these Liberal representations of Jesus we owe to Carrière. It is full of piety and entirely spiritual in conception, and for these reasons it is the least distorted by contemporary ideas. "The Kingdom of Heaven, prepared from the beginning of the world, exists for us as soon as we will acknowledge and will it: for it does not depend upon external conditions, but is within us. Not in a possible other world, but here in the present it must be won. . . . The world itself is the Lord's vineyard in which we work to deserve the feast that is prepared for us, to which we should go not in the dress of vulgarity and thinking of our external possessions, but in the wedding garment of a loving disposition and a free spirit. We are then not slaves but friends, all members of one body, the fruit of one vine; and since we will nothing except God, and each loves the other as himself, the Father is known as what He is, All in All, and His children live in free brotherliness." Even the conception of Carrière not only did not include the anger of Jesus against the world and mammon, but also said nothing truly important and helpful to a humanity whose life with the quickest speed was becoming transformed by the general introduction of machines. It is just an academical breeze that blows over us here, a gentle scent of books rises about the Galilean spring of Renan's. Everything was meant earnestly and spiritually, only this Ideal-

istic Liberalism did not see that it lacked the power and the determination necessary to produce a new world.

Such Liberalism is very dull even where it is pious; it is very unpleasant when it clothes itself with devotional phrases and does homage to established usage without any sense of the enormous distance between Jesus and our world. Especially can this be seen in Schenkel's book, *The Character of Jesus*, which appeared in the same year as Strauss' second Life of Jesus. Somewhat more conservative in tone, it made a slight use of the fourth gospel, whenever it could be turned to account in the presentation of a timeless idealisation of Jesus. Schenkel's fundamental idea, one which Strauss also had conceived, was that Jesus was primarily the founder of a new society of pious Jews in relation to God. With the saying concerning the Sabbath he proclaimed the freedom of worship, as the advocate of true human dignity and eternal human rights. The unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost is "conscious ill-spirited fanaticism in its selfish, narrow-hearted, and blind opposition to progress in religious morality, to revival and development in the sphere of the Church." Jesus, according to Schenkel an educator of the people in moral freedom, taught things concerning money and estate that can arouse sympathy only in a man living in comfortable conditions. The possession and enjoyment of earthly goods are never to become the aims of life. Earthly goods are to be used in the service of God and His kingdom. A good Christian is a good citizen filled with the "highest respect" for the rights and dignity of the State: he is also an adherent to the idea of a free Church in a free State. Further, he is very prudent; prudent as a duty: "It was indeed a feature that always remained the same in the character of Jesus, that he never put himself unnecessarily into danger; that only on most pressing occasions did he give new nourishment to the increasing suspicion against him." For us today such a representation of Jesus as a Liberal citizen is distasteful.

The *Life of Jesus* by Keim, though not much less modernised, has much more force. The Jesus he conceives is at least a man with strength. There are, however, many things in his book which

make us smile, as when Jesus cultivates a friendship with his disciples, just as a German professor likes to establish an ideal companionship with his pupils. Yet in most things Keim saw much more clearly than his Liberal confrères how far the teaching and spirit of Jesus are from our civilisation and our passion for culture and politics. In this connection Keim has excused rather than praised him. "Faith in the determination of man by higher motives had to attain this strong, heroic and passionate expression in doctrine and life, when it first broke forth triumphantly, if it would lead humanity earnestly and purely to strive for the higher and the highest goods."

Keim referred to the defects that arise from the modern passion for work to which "Jesus has given direct support, since he liked best to make work on earth a parable of the kingdom of God (But did he consent to a possible delusion because he made it a symbol?) and still more in that he created belief in a divine security in life upon earth in a divine sovereignty of that life. The saying of Jesus concerning having no care may be so explained as to apply to the world to-day." So naïve a confession reveals the weakness of all the narrower Liberal delineations of the life of Jesus. In one passage Keim resisted the tendency: when he saw the essential in the being of Jesus—the spirit of forgiveness. Keim ventured to say in opposition to the subtle Liberal practitioners: "Should any one say that personal piety is unpractical Idealism, let him ask himself whether Jesus did not think calmly and seriously of a real society based upon it, and whether he did not always think of it. Then he might consider that test which his followers have been applying in the broadest manner, whether the stability of the world is maintained more by judges and princes than by requital through shame as taught by the master." The idea of pedagogy with shame as an instrument was taken over from Paulus and enlarged upon: "We have further to remember that Jesus retains the idea of a divine judgment as one that cannot be improved upon." It can nevertheless not be gainsaid, that with firm conviction and zealous irony, Keim placed Jesus on the side against the "world."

In the *History of Jesus* by Hase the best traditions of the German classical period were once more revived. His fine artistic nature found beautiful shades of expression for the Liberal conception: strength of outline and delicacy of feeling have here produced the most lovable of all such pictures of Jesus. The inexorable demands of a realistic writing of history, necessitating recognition of the severity and the enthusiasm of Jesus, are foreign to him. He does not appreciate the earnestness and the deep spiritual needs of the people of our great modern empires, whose lives are being eaten up in work and pleasure. His conception of Jesus was given to us too late. If it had been associated immediately with the last sayings of Goethe it might have meant much for modern culture. But in 1876 practically another people, quite other ideas, indeed quite another branch of the Teutonic race, had become dominant. To-day Hase's description of Jesus is like a song from days comparatively calm.

Judgment has long ago been given against this Liberal conception of Christianity just as definitely as against that of its reactionary opponents. One side said: If Christianity is nothing more than the modern morality of State culture, we have no need for it, little as we wish for the Christianity of dogma and of reaction. Christianity as represented by Liberalism does not arouse our enmity, but it is a matter of indifference: it makes us neither hot nor cold. The other side regarded it as something very comfortable, as, in fact, too comfortable. When this Liberalism seemed established came the Socialists, came Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, although so different one from another, all at one in this, that they could achieve nothing with this amiable Jesus who understood all and pardoned all.

To-day there is still much preached in the spirit of this meek, sentimental Christianity which appears to be the sacred rock for those defective in active Christian love. Good-meaning people are surprised to find that all the modern frenzy of civilisation does not help us. They see that the fine and noble thoughts of Jesus are robbed of all significance by superficial accommodation to the age. They see the masses, misunderstanding these thoughts, look upon

them with enthusiasm as in harmony with their own political and material endeavours.

One thing always saves this Liberal form of Christianity from itself: it is more than an ethic, it is religion as well. From Carrière to the last theologian of the tendency, there is a stream of faith that is more powerful than self-satisfied abandonment to the world as it is. A longing that reaches beyond empirical goods is aroused and preserved.

Only when we turn to the pantheistic Liberal culture, as expounded in many popular writings, shall we clearly recognise how important it was that these men believed in and preached a living God.

SEELEY, "ECCE HOMO."

Two years after the publication of the *Life of Jesus* by Renan there appeared in English a work inspired by the same desire to obtain an independent view of the person and teaching of Jesus. Not a "romance" like the work of Renan, and in consequence not so captivating, Seeley's *Ecce Homo* is much more weighty in its import. Since its publication in 1865 it has never ceased to find a public. The work bears all the signs of coming from a man with a deep insight into human nature and the social forces of history, and it is free from any form of violent prejudice.

Dissatisfied with the current conceptions of Jesus, he set himself to find out what is warranted by the "facts themselves, critically weighed." What he wished to do was, he explained in the Preface to the fifth edition, to form "such a rudimentary conception of the general character and objects" of Jesus, as it was possible at that time to obtain. He used the gospel of John only where it is in harmony with the synoptics.

Starting with the preaching of John, he looked upon Jesus as taking up the same work—the call to repentance in view of the coming kingdom. It "cannot reasonably be doubted" that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah. Jesus was himself the king of the kingdom he announced. He was "believed by his followers really

to work miracles," and it was "mainly on this account they conceded to him the pre-eminent dignity and authority which he claimed." "The assumption of royalty was the ground of his execution. The inscription which was put upon his cross ran, This is Jesus, king of the Jews. He had himself provoked this accusation of rebellion against the Roman government: he must have known that the language he used would be interpreted so. Was there then nothing substantial in the royalty he claimed? Did he die for a metaphor?"

The conception Jesus had of the Messiah was other than that which prevailed in his time. In "describing himself as a king, and at the same time as king of the kingdom of God,—in other words, as a king representing the Majesty of the invisible King of a theocracy,—Jesus claimed the character first, of Founder, next of Legislator, and thirdly, in a certain high and peculiar sense, of Judge, of a new divine society." The kingdom is based on personal loyalty. Jesus differed from all other teachers in that he demanded and inspired a personal loyalty, and gave not only an ensample of what to do and be, but also the power to do and become it. "As with Socrates argument is everything and personal authority nothing, so with Christ personal authority is all in all, and argument altogether unemployed." It is strange that after the recognition of so vital a truth, Seeley should state that Jesus made it "absolutely binding" upon all his followers to submit to the ceremony of baptism. In opposition to narrow and selfish pleasure, which is never realised, Jesus held up the ideal of the "kingdom of God and his righteousness." Men are to occupy themselves with the affairs of the society; private interests are to be merged absolutely in those of the society. The society is to be universal—all mankind have a right of admission to it.

The essental achievement of Jesus was to have made the moral life dependent upon an "enthusiasm," the Enthusiasm of Humanity. This enthusiasm is "the love, not of the race nor of the individual, but of the race *in* the individual; it is the love not of all men nor yet of every man, but of *the man* in every man." Love makes

its own law, so that the follower of Jesus is a law unto himself. To the negative principle of doing no harm "thou shalt not," was added the positive one of active goodness "thou shalt." The Enthusiasm of Humanity is supreme, and must be evident in every sphere: for example, he commands "the Christians of this age, if we may use the expression, to investigate the causes of all physical evil; to master the science of health; to consider the question of education with a view to health; the question of trade with a view to health; and, while all these investigations are made, with free expense of energy, time, and means, to work out the rearrangement of human life in accordance with the results they give." Poverty destroys natural affection and prevents the growth of the Enthusiasm of Humanity. Social abuses, which so destroy natural affection and "kill Christian humanity in its germ," must be removed. Education is one of the first methods of cultivating Christian character.

Jesus tightened all the obligations of Christian morality. His anger was an essential aspect of his character. Seeley held that the forgiveness prayed for from the cross was with reference to the Roman soldiers who had carried out the execution: his "resentment against the Jews who were the cause of his murder never changed: he continued to the last to think of them with anger." Yet Jesus taught forgiveness, in fact, forgiveness of enemies was his most striking innovation in morality; not that forgiveness was unknown before, but that Jesus first made it a plain duty. Mercy was another trait of his teaching and character. For men and women of high ideals it is in nothing more difficult to be merciful than with reference to faults in the matters of sex. "Though Jesus never entered the realm of sexual love, its sacredness seems to have been felt by him far more deeply than by other men." Those who came to him with the woman taken in adultery had to go away, for they felt that from his high standard they were all condemned. Even in this sphere, however, Jesus manifested mercy. The work of Jesus went beyond his personal life and character: it consisted in the foundation of a society to realise his ideals. "The achievement

of Jesus, in founding by his single will and power a structure so durable and so universal, is like no other achievement which history records."

The skill with which this whole picture is drawn, and the clearness of conception that prevailed in the author's mind, are both evident even from the most cursory occupation with his work. But has he realised his aim? It hardly seems so. Though a historian, Seeley has not entered sufficiently into the atmosphere of the age in which Jesus lived. The conception of the Messiah that he has represented Jesus to hold is far too idealised, and he has freed it of those eschatological elements that are so pronounced a feature of the gospels. The abstractions with which Seeley deals, for example, love for "*the man* in every man," the abstraction, "humanity," Jesus did not know: he had to do with and thought of actual individual men. Like Réville later, Seeley fell a victim to the new ideas which were then beginning to attain power. Again, the talk of an "enthusiasm" seems quite foreign to the impression given by the gospels, and it savours too much of the passion for ideals that showed itself chiefly in the Liberal cry for reform and culture. Seeley did not discuss the anger of Jesus against the man who set his soul on the things of this world: he simply placed, in an abstract way, the positive ideal of the kingdom of God over against that of pleasure. At that time the materials were wanting for a concrete study of Jesus in his own conditions; what Seeley has given us is a description and interpretation of the mission and character of Jesus as he appeared to a deeply earnest and enlightened man of the middle of the last century.

At that time also the problems of life in every sphere were dealt with, in relation to the teachings of Jesus, by many English and American thinkers in the spirit of an idealistic Liberalism and a philosophical theology. The most prominent of these wrote no life of Jesus, but their work denotes a definite attitude to him, leading to certain solutions of the difficulties they felt. Underlying all that is best in these writings is a general recognition of the personal, and an attempt to free men from mere

assent to creed and to enable them to rise to a real participation in religion. Most of these thinkers were free from that worship of a material culture which they found so prevalent around them. In face of the problems raised by national expansion; the relationship of white men to coloured; of man to woman; of education,—they looked to Jesus for an answer to their needs. Some, however, felt simply the theoretical problems presented by their religious life.

Though America was not in the forefront of religious progress in the century, the names of Parker and Channing stand out as those of men who grasped the importance of a consideration of modern problems from the point of view of the religion of Jesus. Both were concerned primarily with practical problems, among others with the emancipation of slaves, and with the question of war. In their attitude towards questions of theology they were entirely liberal, showing an attention to religion for itself, rather than any anxiety about dogma. There was a forecast of Matthew Arnold in the contention of Channing that "the same words eonvcy different ideas when used in relation to different things. . . . God repents differently from man. . . . The known properties and circumstances of Christ . . . oblige us to interpret the comparatively few passages which are thought to make him the Supreme God, in a manner consistent with his distinct and inferior nature." The divinity of Jesus was purely spiritual. The peculiar excellence of Jesus was "his filial devotion, the entireness with which he surrendered himself to the will and benevolent purposes of God." It is our long familiarity with the character of Jesus that blunts for us its chief greatness. For Channing, Jesus was a part of his own revelation; for "whatever Jesus taught, you may see embodied in himself. There is perfect unity between the system and its Founder. His life republished what fell from his lips."

In an article on "The Present Age," Channing showed his insight into those humanistic movements which have grown up since his day. "The grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man as man, is spreading silently but surely. Not that the

worth of the human being is at all understood as it should be, but the truth is glimmering through the darkness." He made one sweeping charge against our whole civilisation, in view especially of industrial conditions: "The present civilisation of the Christian world presents much to awaken doubt and apprehension. It stands in direct hostility to the great ideas of Christianity." The efforts of Channing are as valid against the slavery of our own present commercial competition, with its struggle for existence on the part of the massess, as they were against the actual slavery of his day in the West Indies and elsewhere. "What is the end and essence of life? It is to expand all our faculties and affections. It is to grow, to gain by exercise, new energy, new intellect, new love. It is to hope, to strive, to bring out what is within us, to press towards what is above us. In other words, it is to be free." Yet how far we still are from the realisation of his own dream! "The grand doctrine that every human being should have the means of self-culture—of progress in knowledge and virtue, of health, comfort, and happiness, of exercising the powers and affections of a man,—this is slowly taking its place as the highest social truth. That the world was made for all; that no human being shall perish but through his own fault; that the great end of government is to spread a shield over the rights of all,—these propositions are growing into axioms, and the spirit of them is coming forth in all the departments of life." This "love and reverence for human nature, this love for man stronger than death, is the very spirit of Christianity."

During recent years we have not heard it said so often as previously, that we should not bring our religion into our politics, and *vice versa*. More and more men are coming to see that what is right and good, what the spirit of morality teaches—the person and teaching of Jesus, if we accept him—has to guide our whole life, the life of nations as well as of cities and individuals. Men are to aim at as high a moral rectitude in matters municipal, national, and international, as in private life. How far we have to go in this direction will be apparent when we consider the

manner in which a man, in private life of integrity, will endeavour to cheat the nation in passing the Customs or in his income-tax return, and how a whole nation with few exceptions will be led by financiers to support a war of aggrandisment, irrespective of the moral judgment. "Public questions . . . " urged Channing, "ought to be subjected to the moral judgment of the community. They ought to be referred to the religion which we profess. Christianity was meant to be brought into actual life." Englishmen are often wont to talk of the corruption of American politics and public life; it would be more hopeful if they would turn their eyes to the evils of our own social and industrial conditions, which in spite of our English individualism are of public concern.

From the same spirit Channing considered the question of Christianity and war. War arises in the lust of domination, which is in the greatest opposition to the spirit of Jesus. It is the worst vestige of barbarism, the grossest outrage on the principles of Christianity. Theodore Parker, like Tolstoi, asked, "Did not Jesus say, 'Resist not evil with evil'? Is not war the worst form of that evil?" Channing felt that this doctrine of non-resistance is not entirely possible. "If the precept to 'resist not evil' admit of no exception, then civil government is prostrated: the magistrate must in no case employ the aid of the laws to enforce his rights. The very end and office of Government is to resist evil men. For this he bears the sword; and he should beware of interpretations of the scriptures which should lead him to bear it in vain. . . . We may and ought to assail war by assailing the principles and passions which give it birth and by improving and exalting the moral sentiments of mankind." War is by no means necessary, as is often urged, for the development of strength of character. "Let it not be imagined that, were nations imbued with the spirit of Christianity, they would slumber in ignoble ease; that instead of the 'high-minded' murderers, who are formed on the present system of war, we should have effeminate and timid slaves. Christian benevolence is as active as it is forbearing. Let it once form the character

of a people and it will attach them to every important interest of society. It will call forth sympathy in behalf of the suffering in every region under heaven. It will give a new extension to the heart; open a wider sphere to enterprise; inspire a courage of exhaustless resource; and prompt to every sacrifice and exposure for the improvement and happiness of the human race. The energy of this principle has been tried and displayed in the fortitude of the martyr, and in the patient labours of those who carried the gospels into the dreary abodes of idolatry. Away, then, with the argument that war is needed as a nursery of heroism. The school of the peaceful Redeemer is infinitely more adapted to teach the nobler as well as the milder virtues which adorn humanity."

Theodore Parker concerned himself far more than Channing with the question of the life and person of Jesus. He rejected Strauss' theory of myth, and held the view, now generally accepted in theological circles, that the legends had evolved round the life of Jesus. It may be said that no other American of the nineteenth century made Jesus so much the centre of his teaching. A sermon preached by him in 1841 produced an almost national outcry. "Measure Jesus by the world's greatest sons, how poor they are! Try him by the best of men, how little and how low they appear! Exalt him as much as we may, we shall yet perhaps come short of the mark. But still was he not our brother? the son of man as we are, the son of God like ourselves?" The Jesus in the gospels is a fluctuating one, and, moreover, the gospels contain so much "lamentable matter"; it is the ideal Christ that is to be preached. Jesus has led the world in morals and religion for eighteen hundred years, "only because he was the manliest man in it, the humanest and bravest man in it, and therefore the divinest." Nowhere in the published works of Channing or of Parker do we get a carefully studied account of the person and life of Jesus.

Few writers of the century felt more deeply than Parker the problems of the position of woman in society and of the realisation of her own ideal. Modern civilisation for him, as for

Channing, was far from Christian ideals, and it was in reference to the position of woman that he saw one of its greatest evils. None have spoken more clearly or worked more seriously for them than he. "The Christian civilisation of the nineteenth century is well summed up in London and New York—the two foci of the Anglo-Saxon tribe, which control the shape of the world's commercial elipse. Look at the riches—and the misery; at the religious enterprise—and the heathen darkness; at the virtue, the decorum, and the beauty of women well-born and well-bred—and at the wild sea of prostitution which swells and breaks and dashes against the bulwarks of society—every ripple was a woman once."

Traditional theology leaves us nothing feminine in the character of God, and he thought that, if women had been consulted, theology would be much superior to what it now is. In fact, in all spheres, we lose by her being in the subordinate position into which she has been forced. All spheres of activity should be open to her. He contended for the recognition of "the equivalency of man and woman, that each in some particular is the inferior of the other, but that on the whole mankind and womankind though so diverse are yet equal in their natural faculties." He set forth the evils which come to both as due to her present inferior position, her exclusion from the high places of social or political trust. Women generally prefer domestic to public functions, there is no likelihood of them wanting to take a considerable part in politics. He demanded that she should decide the political question for herself; choose her own place of action; have her vote in all political matters; and be eligible to any office. Upon a proper notion of woman depends our attitude towards marriage and divorce. We may doubt the advisability of making a generalisation such as Parker made when he said that woman's moral, affectional, and religious intuitions are deeper and more trustworthy than man's, for the question is too individual a one, and the experience of each of us too small. It is the exception rather than the rule for a man to display his feelings. To Parker's main contention, the teaching

and spirit of Jesus must indeed lead us. Jesus made no distinction between his treatment of men and women; he forgave and he rebuked both alike; from both he demanded self-sacrifice and the fulfilment of the principle of love. The woman and the man alike have individuality and character to develop, and each must have freedom for it. "The Family, Community, Church, and State are four modes of action which have grown out of human nature in its historical development: they are all necessary for the development of mankind—machines which the human race has devised in order to possess, use and develop, and enjoy their rights as human beings, their rights as men. These are just as necessary for the development of woman as of man; and as she has the same nature, right, and duty as man, it follows that she has the same right to use, shape, and control these four institutions, for her general human purpose and for her special feminine purpose, that man has to control them for his general human purpose and his special masculine purpose."

The same question occupied the earnest thought of Charles Kingsley also, but he was more especially concerned with the problem of woman and marriage. The political freedom of women was a thing he wished for, and Mill's *Subjection of Women* he regarded as exhaustive and unanswerable. He wrote to Mill: "I wish much to speak to you on the whole question of woman. In five-and-twenty years my ruling idea has been that which my friend Huxley has lately set forth as common to him and Comte, that the reconstruction of society on a scientific basis is not only possible, but the only political object much worth striving for! One of the first questions naturally is: What does science—in plain English, nature and fact (which I take to be the acted will of God)—say about woman and her relation to man? And I have arrived at a certain conclusion thereon, which (in the face of British narrowness) I have found it wisest to keep to myself." Kingsley was prepared to accept any teaching which had for its purpose the doing justice to woman in every respect. In this connection it was the view of marriage taught by Jesus that claimed Kingsley's

attention most. "Christ has taught us something about wedlock," that is, something new. For him the union of love is eternal, "as eternal as my own soul." Kingsley had the courage to maintain (and that in opposition to the English Church marriage service) that love, and not procreation of children, is the first object of marriage. Jesus knew "the best method of protesting against the old Jewish error, which Popish casuists still formally assert, that the first end of marriage is the procreation of children." In this protest Jesus "laid the true foundation for the emancipation of women." Once admit that woman is not primarily a means, but has a worth in herself, and her freedom logically follows. We must postpone further discussion of this question till the next chapter.

The freedom that Parker demanded for women he claimed, on the principles of Jesus, for all alike, for poor as well as rich, for coloured men as well as white. Though he was not called a Christian Socialist (his methods were not sufficiently defined), his aim was practically the same. If Christianity were applied, "We should build up a great State with unity in the nation and freedom in the people; a State where there was honourable work for every hand, bread for all mouths, clothing for all backs, culture for every mind, and love and faith in every heart. Truth would be our sermon."

Great as the work of these men was, their influence was not especially in the realm of personal religion, but in the modification of religious conceptions and the application of religious principles to practical life. In spite of the reactionary tendency to set too great a value upon tradition with regard to religious ceremony, the statement of religious doctrine, and the government of the Church, the Oxford Movement was the greatest influence, in the second third of the century in England, to the deepening of personal religious life. The leaders of the movement did not concern themselves very directly with the person of Jesus as he is to be studied in the synoptic gospels. The movement was produced by, and in part helped to produce, a man whose influence upon religious life and thought in England

can hardly be overestimated—John Henry Newman. The main trend of Newman's thought was such as to involve a much greater importance to Jesus than he explicitly expressed. He was in advance of his time. He was a forerunner of those who to-day advocate a religious attitude and philosophy which might be called "Personalism," because they see in persons and personal relationships the highest life has to give. In face of the advance of this view, the external and materialistic standards in economics and ethics, which prevailed among the Liberals who were so enthusiastic for civilisation, are beginning to be abandoned. Newman was imbued with this spirit: it was the expression of the character of the man. His opposition to Rationalism bore fruit, just because in recognising personalities and love between them as the most worthy object of our activity, he gave men a positive aim. He himself called his method "the method of personality." "The philosopher aspires towards a divine principle; the Christian, towards a divine agent. Now dedication of our energies to the service of a person is the occasion of the highest and most noble virtues, disinterested attachment, self-devotion, loyalty: habitual humility, moreover, from the knowledge that there must ever be one that is above us." In his sermon on "Personal Influence" he asks the pertinent question, which almost suggests its own affirmative answer, whether the influence of truth in the world at large does not arise from "*the personal influence*, direct and indirect, of those who are permitted to teach it." This idea he might have applied to the personal influence of Jesus on his disciples. We breathe something of the atmosphere of Jesus in the presence of the scribes and Pharisees in the words: "Men persuade themselves with little difficulty to scoff at principles, to ridicule books, to make sport of the names of good men; but they cannot bear their presence: it is holiness embodied in personal form which they cannot steadily confront and bear down; so that the silent conduct of a conscientious man secures for him from beholders a feeling different in kind from any which is created by the mere versatile and garrulous Reason." Mere evidence leads only to passive

opinion and knowledge, but real religion is a personal and living faith that is essentially active. "The attraction exerted by unconscious holiness is of an urgent and irresistible nature: it persuades the weak, the timid, the wavering and the inquiring, it draws forth the affection and the loyalty of all who are in a measure like-minded, and over the thoughtless or perverse multitude it exercises a sovereign compulsory sway, bidding them fear and keep silence, on the ground of its own right divine to rule them—its hereditary claim on their obedience, though they understand not the principles or counsels of that spirit, which is born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." Though Newman insisted on the value of the historical, he gave his attention chiefly, not to the facts of the gospel life of Jesus, but of the history of the religious life in the Church. The actual facts of Jesus are fundamental. "The apostles and the primitive creeds insist almost exclusively upon the history, not the doctrines of Christianity." It has been left to others to apply these principles to the study of the person of Jesus. The essential in the religious life as not dependent upon theoretical proof, Newman well expressed: "It is the new life, and not the natural reason, which leads the soul to Christ. Does a child trust his parents because he has proved to himself that they are such, and that they are able and desirous to do him good, or from the instinct of affection? We *believe* because we *love*."

The failure to recognise the importance of the "personal" did much to lessen the value of the work of the brother of the above writer. Francis Newman was far more independent in his judgment of the probability of the historical and philosophical views concerning Jesus. In his *Hebrew Jesus*, published so late as 1895, he endeavoured to draw the picture of the Jesus of Palestine when his life is relieved of the later accretions of legend. The perversion of that picture was due chiefly to Stephen and to Paul. Stephen was stoned for blasphemous doctrines concerning Jesus that were not shared by James and the other apostles. Paul based his doctrine on "visions and

dreams." In contrast with these teachings, Jesus "never claimed to be God *in any sense whatever*; he regarded all men, including himself, to be brethren and the children of our Father in Heaven; he assumed no moral perfection in himself: 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one—that is, God.' He placed all moral duties . . . above all ceremonial rites . . . insisted on purifying the heart as the source whence spring evil thoughts, words, and deeds. . . . He propagated pure inward spiritual religion, communion with God the Father in love and trust; he abhorred all shams and hypocrisy, and showed endless pity for the sinful and despised."

Jesus died for claiming to be a royal prince; his death was not, if we understand Francis Newman rightly, a sacrifice made in the cause of moral goodness and his religious teaching. In his desire to free us of the idea of hell, Francis Newman was led to overlook the necessity of repentance. He failed to note it in the parable of the Prodigal Son. In that parable it is important to notice, besides the joy of the father at his son's return, the son's repentance: "I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him: Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." We must admit the possibility in the spiritual realm as in the realm of nature, of progressive degeneration. The hard-hearted man who knows no repentance can come to know what hell is. It is in the process of life itself that the great judgment is taking place, and in which each man is to find his heaven or his hell. There is no ground for the contention that "Jesus denies" the doctrine of hell. Possibly Newman was thinking simply of the attribution of the term "everlasting" to the conception.

Not the person of Jesus, but his religious and moral teaching is what is of value to human progress. "Whatever else is doubtful in the scanty records of the life of Jesus; whatever else attributed to him is either certainly or probably an afterthought of later times or the product of an alien school of thought, no one can reasonably doubt that the whole essence of the faith and religion of Jesus of Nazareth finds its expression in what

for eighteen hundred years has been known as the Lord's Prayer. It sums up all the right desires of 'the hearts of all men in all climes.' It has no national, no political, no sectarian, no ecclesiastical elements."

In James Martineau, F. W. Newman found a sympathetic opponent who, like himself, had become free from ecclesiastical dogmatism and mythology. James Martineau saw in humanity itself, but especially in Jesus, the manifestation of the divine. The power of Jesus is not in his precepts, but in his person; "apart from him, his teachings do but take place with the sublimest efforts of speculation, to be admired and forgotten with the colloquies of Socrates and the meditations of Plato." One section of his great work, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, the result of a lifetime of study, is entitled "The Divine in the Human,—Religion personally revealed."

Martineau accepted almost everything of importance taught by the Tübingen school. In contrast with Strauss, he thought there were many elements in the gospels the historicity of which could not reasonably be doubted. Many influences, chiefly, perhaps, that of Channing, led him to regard the moral as the deepest aspect of the divine, and the sublimest aim for men. He felt compelled to regard "as unauthentic, in its present form, every reputed or implied claim of Jesus to be the promised Messiah." Statements that imply that claim are the retrospective work of the disciples. We may quote one example of this later elaboration by the disciples; we shall see at the same time the method of criticism that Martineau adopts. There is, he thought, no reason to doubt that Jesus shared the messianic expectations, but it wounded his feelings to suppose that the utterances attributed to him in this connection in the gospels are genuine. "The more you try to save as historical, the less do you leave to him of the character of a true prophet." Thus, "Is it not even said, 'If any man come unto me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife and children, brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple'? (Luke xiv. 26). The evangelist, living amid bitter conflict between an aggressive

Christianity and a reigning heathenism, transfers the requirements and the passions of a persecuted society to the Galilean ministry, forgetting that Jesus had no personal following except the twelve, and asked no sacrifice that broke up the homes of Israel or the worship of the synagogue, and no devotion but of a heart more loving and a will more faithful than before."

His controversy with Francis Newman was as to whether Jesus—otherwise than through his teaching—is part of the Christian religion. The person of Jesus is itself a revelation, a revelation of the possibilities of humanity. In Jesus' life of communion with God, "religious experience, as known to us, reaches its acme, and the ideal relation between the human spirit and the Divine is realised." So, in reply to Newman, he said, "Whether the personality of Jesus as historically accessible to us, warrants the appeal which I make to it as a standard of the spiritual life, is a fair question by no means easy to determine . . . Of 'man-worship' I am not afraid, where the very ground of the veneration for him is his own absolute self-surrender to the Father of spirits, and his invitation to us to be fellows with him in this sonship. It is precisely this distinctively *human* attitude of uplooking trust which consecrates for us the personality of Jesus." If we ask what is meant by the personal humanity of Jesus, Martineau tells us clearly: "His individual life, the courses of his thought, the lights and shadows of his affections, the conflicts of his will, as he passed through the drama of his years on earth, and moved before the eyes of man, and was heard by living ears in his teaching by day and overheard in his prayers by night."

From this general attitude towards Jesus what did Martineau say of the relation of Christianity or the teaching of Jesus to our own civilisation? The form in which the gospel was propagated in earlier times is not adequate to modern needs. "It reasoned from principles which we do not own, and was tinged with feelings which we cannot share. The merchant, the scholar, the statesman, the head of a family, the owner of an estate, are called to face anxieties and to solve problems which Evangelists and

Apostles did not approach." Martineau saw the truth of much of what Nietzsche contended, for he argued, says Carpenter, that in one sense "Christian civilisation had created its own difficulties; the ravages of misery were no longer permitted to clear from the field the idiot, the half capable, the maimed." Nevertheless, when he reviewed the evils of our cities, he was forced to admit, in opposition to Nietzsche, that "the theory of individual independence has been carried to a vicious extreme." Martineau was occupied far too much with reflection on theology and ethics to discuss at length the practical problems of the century in relation to his religious convictions. With the tendency towards Humanism he was in sympathy, but be regarded it as inadequate. The Humanism, of which he regarded Strauss as a leader, seemed to him to empty religion of all its objective realities, and to reduce our highest guidance to a mere human idealism, painting its images on the air. Thus the proposition that "man is the measure of all things" is only valid when "God is the measure of man."

The "religious radicalism" of F. W. Robertson was very different from the radicalism prevailing in England in his day. It was more deeply rooted and had higher ideals than those English "Liberal" movements that had their basis in a utilitarian and hedonist moral philosophy and in the earlier Rationalism. Thus in face of the fall away from the ranks of superficial Liberalism, he stood unshaken in his faith. Writing in 1851 he said: "What appals me is to see the way in which persons, once liberal, are now recoiling from their own principles, terrified by the state of the continent, and saying that we must stem the tide of democracy, and support the conservatives. Why, whatever made democracy dangerous but Conservativism? The French Revolution! Socialism! Why, these men seem to forget that these things came out of Toryism, which forced the people into madness. What makes rivers and canals overflow—the deep channel cut ever deeper, or the dam put across by wise people to stop them?"

Though influenced by the liberal forces of the age he avoided

their extremes, and with his deeper view of the source of real progress he represented a transition some time before it appeared. Even now most of the clergy of the Established Church are far behind him in the breadth and depth of their convictions. He resolved to fix attention on Jesus rather than on the doctrines concerning Christ: it was from the life that Jesus led that Robertson obtained his views of the brotherhood of men. "To place the spirit above the letter and the principle above the rule was the aim of Jesus' life, and the cause of the dislike he met." The new attitude is evident in the principles upon which he taught, as stated in his *Life and Letters*. "First, the establishment of positive truth, instead of the negative destruction of error. Secondly, that truth is made up of two opposite propositions, and not found in a *via media* between the two. Thirdly, that spiritual truth is discerned by the spirit instead of intellectually in propositions; and therefore truth should be taught suggestively and not dogmatically. Fourthly, that belief in the human character of Christ must be antecedent to belief in his divine origin. Fifthly, that Christianity as its teachers, should work from the inward outward. Sixthly, the soul of goodness in things evil." From such a passage it will be clear that Robertson is important, not for any specific ideas to be associated with his name, but as breathing the spirit of a new and deeper liberal religious thought. There remains here nothing of the eighteenth-century superficiality. He was in thorough harmony with that awakened direct interest in humanity, which was bursting forth against ecclesiastical "other-worldliness." Jesus claimed sonship "in virtue of his humanity": "only through man can God be known; only through a perfect man perfectly revealed."

The influence of philosophical Liberalism upon religion in England came more especially from persons outside of the general religious bodies. Perhaps the most famous of English philosophical radicals whom we ought here to consider was John Stuart Mill. Brought up from his earliest days in a philosophical atmosphere, the interests and problems of his life

were not essentially practical, so much as the theoretical ones in their bearing on practical life. A keen observer of man's mental life, he grasped the truth that religion was a fundamental and an important fact of his conscious experience. Before all else a logician and a moralist, he found the value of religion chiefly in its bearing upon the moral life. He did not rise to an adequate recognition of the distinctive nature and value of the complex religious experience in and for itself. When he published his *Three Essays on Religion*, his "non-religious" friends were surprised and not a few of them unpleasantly shocked. These essays were in the main favourable to religion, and even to Christianity. The person and the moral teaching of Jesus are the factors of Christianity which he deemed of greatest consequence, and his tribute to Jesus is one of the most remarkable from the pen of an English philosopher. "Whatever else may be taken from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left: a unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. The tradition of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought. But who among his disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee: as certainly not Saint Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasies were of a totally different sort: still less the early Christian writers, in whom nothing is more evident than that the good which was in them was all derived, as they always professed that it was derived, from the higher source. What *could* be added and interpolated by a disciple we may see in the mystical parts of the Gospel of Saint John, matter imported from Philo and the Alexandrian Platonists, and put into the mouth of the Saviour, in long speeches about himself such as the other Gospels

contain not the slightest vestige of, though pretended to have been delivered on occasions of the deepest interest and when his principal followers were all present; most prominently at the Last Supper. The east was full of men who could have stolen any quantity of this poor stuff, as the multitudinous oriental sects of Gnostics afterwards did. But about the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which, if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this preëminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed on earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in taking this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor, even now, would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life. When to this we add that, to the conception of the rational sceptic, it remains a possibility that Christ actually was what he supposed himself to be—not God, for he never made the smallest pretension to that character, and would probably have thought such a pretension as blasphemous as it seemed to the men who condemned him—but a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue: we may well conclude that the influences of religion on the character, which will remain after rational criticism has done its utmost against the evidences of religion, are well worth preserving, and that what they lack in direct strength as compared with those of a firmer belief, is more than compensated by the greater truth and rectitude of the morality they sanction." Jesus as a moral reformer, as an example, as the teacher of a high morality—that is a great deal when the importance of morality is recognised and the influence of the teacher properly estimated,

but in common with the narrower Liberal movement generally, that is all Mill saw in Jesus. Religion in its real nature goes deeper than the empiricism of Mill, and it involves a fundamental relationship of men to one another and to God, that is hardly to be found in a philosophy which fails to do justice to metaphysical facts.

Not all radical thinkers were able to take such an attitude to Jesus or to accept such a view. Although as late as 1868, Charles Kingsley could write: "Of Christian morals her enemies have not complained," it was becoming even then evident that the teachings of Jesus and the beliefs concerning his person would be examined not so much with reference to their metaphysical truth or probability, as to their moral and religious significance and value. Now appeared for the first time clearly in English thought the question: What is the real object of Christian reverence and worship? Is the human Jesus or the glorified Christ the centre of our religion, and what difference has the answer on our practical life? These questions only came prominently and generally into consciousness at the beginning of the twentieth century, but they made their appearance long ago.

In 1873, Leslie Stephen in his *Essays on Free-thinking and Plain Speaking*, contended that the human Jesus could not call forth the religious emotion and the moral power that is involved in Christian faith, and that therefore the object of Christian worship is the belief in the divinity of Christ. "The love of Christ as representing the ideal perfection of human nature, may indeed be still a powerful motive, and powerful whatever the view we take of Christ's character. The advocates of the doctrine in its more intellectual form represent this passion as the true essence of Christianity. They assert with obvious sincerity of conviction, that it is the leverage by which alone the world can be moved. But, as they would themselves admit, this conception would be preposterous, if, with Strauss, we regarded Christ as a merely human being. Our regard for him might differ in degree, but would not differ in kind from our regard for Socrates or Pascal. It would be impossible to consider it as an overmastering

and all-powerful influence. The old dilemma would be inevitable: he that loves not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love Christ whom he hath not seen? A mind untouched by the agonies and wrongs which invest London hospitals and lanes with horror, could not be moved by the sufferings of a single individual, however holy, who died eighteen centuries ago. No! the essence of the belief is the belief in the divinity of Christ."

The conclusion Stephen drew was that we are not Christians, and that it is only as a human being Jesus can have real value for human progress. Antagonism towards dogmatic Christianity obscured for him the fact that the idealised Christ was developed ultimately from the effects that the remarkable personality of Jesus had upon the minds of men. Psychology as a definite science was being born in his time, and the theory of evolution was being applied in most spheres of knowledge, so that it is strange that Stephen did not examine the relation of Christian doctrine to Jesus more from these two points of view.

Even in his day people were "touched" by the evils in "hospitals" and town life, though then as now, not sufficiently. But it is not the suffering that is meant to appeal in the death of Jesus; it is only pietist hymns and revivalist preachers that inculcated the view that it is. What has appealed in the life and death of Jesus, and still appeals, is the spirit of perfect obedience to what he conceived to be the highest, and his willing acceptance of death as a sacrifice necessary to continue true to his cause.

The decision "Jesus or Christ?" which in a later article Stephen stated plainly, meant a decision with regard to conduct as well as theory. The dogmatic conception was bound up with other-worldliness and asceticism, which were entirely opposed to the Liberal ideal of civilisation and culture. It was only at a later date that this was pressed with force, as by Cotter Morison, who, in his book *The Service of Man: An Essay toward the Religion of the Future*, asserted that the real difficulty of Christianity is a moral one. His great argument is that Christianity

centres itself in an other-world; "there is momentous authority for holding that a life of wickedness on earth is immaterial, and no impediment to the promptest ascent into heaven by an act of contrition." Morison here, contrary, indeed, to his own wishes, shows himself to be as much under the influence of earlier thought as those he is criticising. From any but an external interpretation the meaning of the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is just this: provided that the change does come, provided that men do at some point begin to work for the good things of the kingdom of God, their reward is the same, for their faces are set towards the ideal, which if they persist they will attain. In the same way, in consequence, we think, of insufficient reflection upon experience itself, he has misunderstood the place of suffering in life and in Christianity. "The whole idea of Christianity is steeped in suffering. 'Blessed are they that mourn'; 'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake.' Why? Because 'great is their reward in heaven.' The worship of the Man of Sorrows was not intended for the tender and comfortable. 'Whosoever will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me. He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that will lose his life shall save it.'"

According to Morison the life of men should be occupied with the things of the immediate world, and they should work together, man for man. "The proletariat of Europe is resolved to have its fair share of the banquet of life, quite regardless of the good or bad things in store for it in the next world." Morison had a recognition of higher ideals than he is in the main fighting for. He had not sufficient faith in humanity achieving the distant aims that have been set for it by Christianity and the idealists in all ages. Saints and men of exceptional goodness in the moral life are born geniuses, like those in the spheres of literature, music, or painting. The whole question of the similarity and the difference between moral and religious genius, and genius in other spheres, still requires to be carefully discussed: lack of space makes adequate consideration here impossible. The chief differences can nevertheless be clearly

stated. Religion and morality are rooted in the heart of the personality and have at the same time an all-embracing grasp or immanence. They affect art and literature, industry and all daily life, either explicitly or implicitly. Further, they are both, when reduced to their ultimates, a concern of the relationship of personalities. Art and literature, while involving transference between persons, do not find their essence in the nature of the relation, but in the character and form of the medium used. A work of art or literature may be judged quite independently of the character and worth of the artist. There have been, it is true, few Christian saints, but it is of the nature of the Christian hope that in the end we shall become true "sons of God." Morison recognises a natural basis of goodness in men. "The spirit of self-sacrifice is as much a factor of human nature as the spirit of self-indulgence, though like all the higher gifts less common. The deplorable thing is that it should be wasted and thrown away on useless objects." This spirit of self-sacrifice is what Jesus emphasised, and in it he found the basis for the achievement of higher aims. The principle of dying to live is fundamental for the Christian saint, of whom Morison says: "The true Christian saint, though a rare phenomenon, is one of the most wonderful to be witnessed in the moral world: so lofty, so pure, so attractive, that he ravishes men's souls into oblivion of the patent and general fact that he is an exception among thousands or millions of professing Christians. The saints have saved the churches from neglect and disdain."

We are but a short way along the path that humanity must tread, and there is no reason for us to despair that even yet mankind will achieve a noble destiny, if not the same as that which Morison understands by the Christian saint, then something better. Towards this Morison has made no original contribution. The teaching of Jesus, on a bedrock of faith in a universal power, the divine Father, involves as its great method in the present life, love of the brotherhood, work for the commonwealth,—in Morison's term, "the service of man."

The general English reading public have been introduced to

the view of Jesus and the attitude towards him of a philosophical Liberalism more perhaps by the remarkable novel of Mrs. Humphry Ward, *Robert Elsmere*, than by any other book. The hero passes from the position of traditional orthodoxy, through doubt, to the activity of social service and efforts for reform under the inspiration, now newly born in him, of a love for Jesus as brother and ensample. In a meeting, held after the change had come, Elsmere asks: "What does the Jesus of history matter to me?" and replies: "You think—because it is becoming plain to the modern eye that the ignorant love of his first followers wreathed his life in legend—that therefore you can escape from Jesus of Nazareth, you can put him aside as though he had never been? Folly! Do what you will, you cannot escape him. His life and death underlie our institutions as the alphabet underlies our literature. Just as the lives of Buddha and Mohammed are wrought ineffaceably into the civilisation of Africa and Asia, so the life of Jesus is wrought ineffaceably into the higher civilisation, the nobler social conceptions of Europe. It is wrought into your being and into mine. We are what we are to-night, as Englishmen and as citizens, largely because a Galilean peasant was born and grew to manhood, and preached, and loved, and died." He dwelt then on the central conception of Jesus, "the spiritualised, universalised Kingdom of God." Yet "the world has grown since Jesus preached in Galilee and Judea. We cannot learn the whole of God's lesson from him now—nay, we could not then! But all that is most essential to man—all that saves the soul, all that purifies the heart—that he has still for you and me, as he had it for the men and women of his own time." So the great task of the age and of every age is to bring the life of Jesus "back into some real and cogent relation with our modern lives, beliefs, and hopes."

The conception of humanity had become so prominent towards the end of the century that it was able to obtrude itself, as a principle of interpretation, into the serious work of so careful a student as A. Réville. In discussing the parable of the sorting of those who have done good and those who have done evil, he

contends: "It is clear that in reality it is not a definite person, unknown to his benefactors, who has been the object of their generous compassion. It was in helping a number of persons that they have acted in charity towards the son of man. How could be shown more definitely that it is humanity itself, the man . . . dwelling deep in every human creature, that is identical with the son of man, that the central idea of this splendid teaching comes back to this: Devotion to humanity, loved even to the most lowly of those who compose it, is the queen of virtues: that which assures to those who breathe it the highest value in the eyes of God." There is too much influence here of Comte and the early idealists. It is an anachronism to suppose that for Jesus the "son of man" meant humanity immanent in the individuals. Jesus was too much a Jew of his own time to have had such a conception. The interpretation may be given as a modern way of thinking of the Messiahship, but it was not the opinion of Jesus.

The Advocates of Idealistic Liberalism in Later Years.

The ideas of Renan and Strauss, for the most part in a crude and superficial form, have passed along many channels into the minds of the people. In Germany this has been through the free religious bodies, which most keenly oppose ecclesiastical dogma, and especially traditional Christology. In their theologically educated preachers, these bodies have men who know the literature well, and are trained disputants; and their assertions, borne along with the social democratic propaganda, become scattered far and wide. In a series of books which can be bought in Germany for twopence, each in a form just big enough for the smallest imaginable waistcoat pocket, an untiring effort is made to break down the old conception of Christ. G. Tschirn, a free religious preacher in Breslau, was formerly an eloquent representative of these views. The title of one of his works, *The Man Jesus*, shows for what he chiefly fought. He has indeed the capacity of describing the man Jesus in glowing words, although he would overlook that which is remarkable in him, and

represent him simply as a courageous teacher. He must have won the heart of many a fighting man for his Jesus, though he will no longer point men to the Church.

"Just read the twenty-third chapter of Matthew. It is not a submissive lamb, come to suffer and to die, that stands there and speaks: it is a man from whom the fire of holy passion, the glow of the love of truth, the warmth of the love of man and race, breaks forth unrestrained. How otherwise could he have carried away people as he has done? He who stands before us there is a fighter, every inch of him, burning intensely and ever firmly fixed on the ideal. Carried away on the surging ocean of his enthusiasm, forgetting himself entirely, he threw himself into his work and gave himself for his all-governing conviction. Thus he celebrated his triumph; thus, with the ardent striving of his soul, reaching higher and higher, and pressing on further and further, he brilliantly repulsed the fault-finding scribes.

"Nevertheless Jesus who, intoxicated with enthusiasm, lived through such sublime hours, led his passionate sensitiveness to the highest, only through the greatest depths of pain and doubt.

"The character of Jesus is colourless if he is represented as always being in a state of divine calm, without passion and moral conflict in himself: it appears living and active at once when both of these things are ascribed to him. There, living and approachable he stands before us, saying, *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum* (I am man; nothing human is foreign to me). He whom we look upon with wonder, is not a mysterious alien God-man, doing things inconceivable and incomprehensible, but a great man, who, tried in the storm, through real, genuine, and dangerous conflicts, finally achieved the victory.

"'Follow me,' calls Christ our hero! So also may those free reformers call, who, notwithstanding the invectives of the 'pious' and persecutions at the hands of the orthodox, strive once more to inaugurate a new age: the free-thinkers who will hear as little about dogma and faith on authority as would the founder of the religion, who really founded absolutely nothing external, no society, no church, no creed: the dissentients who, as the courage-

ous standard-bearers of truth, separate from an old religion, because they advance to a new one: the cosmopolitans, who beyond all national limitation love humanity as a whole, and who, to-day, not with angels but with men, sing peace upon earth, goodwill towards men. To all of these Jesus is an illuminating, living example, but not to those who call themselves by his name, saying, Lord! Lord! and at the same time judge, condemn, and curse, in violation of his command: not to those who offer up hymns to war and its glories, and, bristling with weapons, stand opposed one to another, prepared for dreadful deeds of blood; not to those who, above the ideal, set the striving for the goods of this world, for wealth, supremacy, and power. Not thoughtlessly and without sincerity do these men sing as the followers of Christ, but they really follow him, the great man Jesus, as he lived and taught, fought and suffered."

Later Tschirn went over to the position of Kalthoff; such free religious societies have a tendency to follow everything that is new, as easily as to fall into a religious formalism and apathy. Jesus is estimated similarly in the ethical culture movement, in which he is valued and reverenced as the teacher of love to one's neighbour.

The Egidische movement holds fast to the beliefs in God, virtue and immortality, and resembles the Rationalism of the eighteenth century. In its conflict against the organised Churches it has taken over in spirit and feeling Strauss' conception of Jesus as found in his second *Life*. One of the followers of Moritz von Egidy has dedicated to him a publication, entitled *Jesus, a man, not the Son of God—a challenge to the false Christianity of the Churches*. Upon the title-page the sun of the Enlightenment rises behind hills green with hope, and throws its rays over the device, "The activity of love—not the absurdities of creed." Courage is not a matter of concern of this knight; he fights with visor closed, anonymous, because he still has fear of "the power of the clergy and those 'orthodox' in the faith." After an examination of the records, he maintains that Jesus was a historical person, and that his teaching contained such thoughts as the

following: the reform of the service of God through the deepening, revivifying, and spiritualising of the dead letter; truthfulness and faithfulness to conviction; the most perfect self-renunciation and willingness for sacrifice; and love which extends even to enemies. With a tone of half conviction Jesus is represented as a preacher of pantheism, and quite definitely as a social pioneer and preacher against dogmas and sacraments. As in the Egidische movement generally, we find in the little book many good and pure thoughts, and if they find their way into circles which are impenetrable to the influence of official Christianity, we have great occasion for joy. But we must not fail to realise that over all this there is an atmosphere of dullness and narrow-mindedness which prevents it from having its proper effect, and that without the acknowledgment of the person of Jesus, the mission of Jesus cannot be brought to maturity and fruition. Egidy dared this acknowledgment, and that won him the good will and the hearts of many. But if the Liberal conception of Jesus has not the power to lead one who accepts it to make this sacrifice, its insufficiency is thereby manifest.

The answer that W. Kirchbach gave to the question: What did Jesus teach? is simply an ethical Idealism and pantheism. What is new in his book is the way in which he claims these ideas to be the teaching of Jesus. Renan, Strauss, and the popular Liberal statement of this view, had regretted the strange, the foreign and apocalyptical, and put these on one side, or at least let them fall into the background. Kirchbach sought to resolve everything into allegories, under the forms of which the ideas of modern culture are brought before us in a remarkable *tour de force*. These ideas were the fundamentals of the new teaching or "new morality" of Jesus, which were crudely misunderstood by his immediate followers and disciples, and by the evangelists and the Church.

Jesus certainly spoke of God as his Father in heaven; but by this he meant the "All." Apparently he called himself the Son of Man, announced his glorification, and his return upon the clouds of the sky; by this we are to understand the moral

elevation of humanity. It may seem as though Jesus meant that he would rise again on the third day; what he really meant was "the persistence of the new elevation of humanity." Prayer and eternal life are nothing else but images. The morality of the gospels is interpreted by Kirchbach as the life of the good citizen. The saying "Resist not evil" (probably the same as "him that is evil," Matt. v. 39) is translated "Resist not by evil," which is literally possible, but is entirely excluded by the context. The sentence is explained from the standpoint of narrow-minded pride. "A blow on the face more or less, when one strikes you, does not matter; in the same way we need not be quite exact with regard to the distance we go one with another. Let us not calculate so precisely. We manifest our spiritual and moral superiority in that we do not reckon up everything on the old principle of 'An eye for an eye.'"

Finally, the gospel is made something universal, and is extolled as the harmony of everything that is in conflict: "The church of churches, the true catholic church of humanity, the church of all European thinkers and scientists, is contained in a remarkable manner in this doctrine of Jesus. There is no one who has gone beyond the first three letters of the alphabet of research who does not in reality subscribe to the thought of the Nazarene. Following him they are at the same time quite at liberty to continue disciples of Kant or even of Eduard von Hartmann. Even the shallowest materialist, if he knows but a little of modern chemistry and physics, and does not remain at the level of the alchemists before Liebig, will say with astonishment: Who would have thought it! The most extravagant follower of Nietzsche will call Hosannah and declare: We also can co-operate in this.

"That is the new gift of the disciples of the Nazarene. I foresee the advent of a new Council of Nicea . . . in which the 'Holy Spirit' will not, as it were, be decreed out of our existence, but where the delegates of the Christian churches, the Jewish synagogues, and the temples of Buddha, will unite upon the simple universal human confession that it is the 'spirit of truth'

that has enabled humanity to progress so far." Instead of indulging in a cheap mockery of these superficialities, we may rejoice at the gentle disposition they express. These men attempt too much when they try to reproduce the depth and the glow of the gospels, or to give the true scientific explanation of the sayings of Jesus. The following passage is noteworthy: "We must not allow ourselves to be led into error by the Latin misunderstandings of the Vulgate from which Luther so often derived counsel, still less by the artificial lexicon of dogmatic theology, which strives to make the impossible possible. We get better counsel in the good Greek of the time of Jesus; the translations from the Aramaic were intended to be understood by Jews and Greeks." As though those engaged in research would seek help from the Vulgate, or the Bible of Luther, or any other lexicon or grammars than those written by philological students of Greek! If we wish to know in what sense words were then used, we must know in the first place the Jewish literature immediately preceding the New Testament, and the Christian literature immediately following it, of neither of which had Kirchbach any real knowledge.

What is the basis of this new "Grammar," this new exposition of the sayings of Jesus? First, general statements made in the symbolical language of the orientals, which Jesus also is supposed to have employed. This line of argument established nothing, for just those who were supposed to have misunderstood these allegories, and taken them in their literal meaning, are the disciples and the evangelists who were also orientals! Kirchbach endeavoured to justify his exposition by individual consideration of the chief conceptions. We have an example of his method in the following: "the Kingdom of God" really means the "kingly power or sovereignty of God"; and for this in Matthew we have always "Kingdom of heaven." Now Jesus said once: "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation (with signs appealing to the senses), neither shall they say, Lo here! or there! for, lo, the Kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii. 20–24). To this Kirchbach says: "Jesus eliminates everything external

from what has been translated 'the Kingdom of God'; it is simply a sovereignty of God, a power of God in the spirit of man. Further, 'heaven' means the same as world, that is, 'the All,' Jesus speaks only of the 'power of the All' that should come in us. This is the same as what Goethe means when he says we ought 'to widen ourselves to the All,' and that the whole teaching of moral love of man is only the application of this idea." "The All" is substituted everywhere for God, and so we have pantheism.

This attempt at proof involves three fallacies: (1) The Greek words, which are decisive for the meaning of Luke xvii. 21, give "within you," the translation adopted by Luther which was so haughtily rejected by Kirchbach, though the implication seems rather to be "in the midst of you," and the whole saying should mean that the Kingdom of God will come amongst men *suddenly* and *unexpectedly* (as we must render the words, translated by Kirchbach, here following Luther, "not with signs appealing to the senses"). For this interpretation of the passage we may also urge that Jesus is here speaking to the Pharisees. (2) The ambiguous and individual saying of Luke xvii. 21 may not be used as a means of getting rid of all the other ambiguous cases. Elsewhere Jesus always speaks of God as of a person, and of the coming of the Kingdom as of a great event. We cannot justly supersede a straightforward interpretation of his sayings by an allegorical philosophy. (3) If Matthew says "Heaven" in the place of "God," Jesus did not necessarily say it: Matthew's usage is in accordance with a tendency common to his time to avoid the name of God, whom he certainly thought of as personal. At that time, "highly praised," "the high," "the place," for example, were used to avoid naming Him. Just the opposite of what Kirchbach says is true: "God" is not used for "the All," but "Heaven," to mean the God dwelling in Heaven.

Within the limits of this book it is quite impossible to follow Kirchbach's allegories, and to refute them step by step. Our example has been chosen because the false interpretation of

Luke xvii. 21 is found throughout the whole religious literature of Liberalism. The Liberal position is arrived at only by error, misunderstanding, and violence. The fresh world of ideas and manner of discourse of Jesus and of the Evangelists are transformed into a bombastic flow of words and an inner "life," mysterious but really empty.

Was Jesus a Reformer?

Without doubt the mission of Jesus and its influence meant a reform for Judaism, a reform in religion and morality, and on looking more closely one finds a reform not only for Judaism, but also for religion generally in the sphere of western civilisation. Tendencies that for long had been evident in the prophetical religion of Israel and in heathen philosophy were led through his teaching to complete triumph.

Sacrifice and law, receiving and giving, were the two ways by which men of antiquity thought it possible to come into communion with the godhead. According to Jesus there is communion, but only through prayer and the spirit. Inwardness and sincerity in all things was for him the final principle of all life: more than these he did not desire. Conduct that appears to be from love to God or to men, and towards the best subsidiary ends, but is devoid of inwardness and sincerity, is not in accordance with his purpose. Christianity only became a movement for reform as time went on, first driven by the necessity of organising a society for the new system of life, for without such organisation no human social life was possible. Originally this was overlooked; above all, Jesus did not think of it. It was not merely his belief in the approaching end of the world, but also his indifference to the external in general that allowed him to overlook such organisation.

If Jesus had been an actual reformer, he would have made specific requirements with regard to sacrifice and law, temple and priests, state and church: he would have formulated a fixed programme and have taken some steps in organisation, as every

real reformer must. Jesus did none of these things. They are to be found with Paul rather than with him. Jesus never attacked the institutions of the temple, even though he prophesied its fall with the city as a consequence of the sins of the people. He was roused to anger because they had made his Father's house a den of thieves. He did not discuss sacrifice, but simply said, "My house shall be called a house of prayer" (Mark xi. 17). He declared that not one iota of the law should pass away: he wished to fulfil it in its true meaning, not as the Pharisees conceived it. He thought to reveal the real purpose of God and the opinion of Moses by setting aside the letter or taking away its force. Finally, in his conflict against the exposition of it that the Pharisees gave, he broke once for all with the whole ceremonial law and its idea of religious purity, and in opposition to it he enunciated the truth that "nothing from without, that goes into a man," can make him unclean, but merely the evil that comes out of him, that originates in his heart (Mark vii. 15). The religion of Jesus knows nothing of unclean and unholy things, such as the flesh of pigs, but only of unclean spirit. At the end of his life he did fight against the priests and theologians of his time, because they were hypocrites, who shut from men the kingdom of heaven, and bound upon them heavy burdens which they themselves never moved a finger to carry. He opposed them because, under the appearance of piety they served their own ends, "eating up widows' houses," and casting longing glances for titles and for greetings (Matt. xxii.).

He did not oppose sacrifice and law, priests and Pharisees, as such, nor did he think out any kind of programme by which their influence and supremacy might be broken. Nevertheless he triumphed over them; even in death. He was more than a reformer: he was a prophet.

One circumstance makes that clearer than all others. Was Jesus really a man who wished to draw the ground from under the feet of the ruling authority by pointing out a better prospect? Was it necessary to crucify such a careful educator of his people,

and to place over him the inscription: "The King of the Jews"? They had to kill him that they might find rest; that they might no longer hear the powerful, convincing complaints and threats that burst from him in angry, holy scorn: "Woe unto you!" "Repent, the kingdom of heaven is at hand!" "I saw Satan fall as a flash from heaven." "I am not come to bring peace upon the earth, but a sword." "He who would save his life shall lose it: he who loses his life for my sake, shall save it." . . . "He who is ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous generation, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed when he comes with the holy angels in the glory of the Father!"

Are those the words of an actual reformer? Strauss would prefer to say that they were never spoken by Jesus, but were due to the society that may have accredited such thoughts to their Lord. "If he did prophesy it of himself and expect it himself, he is for us nothing but a fanatic; if without any conviction on his own part he said it of himself, he was a braggart and an impostor." Yet Strauss knows quite well that "it is no unusual phenomenon to see high spiritual gifts and moral endowments tempered with an ingredient of enthusiasm; it might even be absolutely maintained that not one of the great men of history could have existed without enthusiasm." But "that Jesus should have connected with his own person such a miraculous change creates a difficulty. It is an unallowable self-exaltation for a man so to put himself above everybody else as to contrast himself with them as their future judge." With a scornful superiority Strauss, in his last book, *The Old and the New Faith*, has turned away from this arrogant visionary.

Renan had a deeper understanding of these matters. It is true that to him also these sayings of Jesus are somewhat painful. He would prefer to ascribe them to the society, if they were not so numerous and so well attested. But he understands Jesus and his time better than Strauss. He knows that such marked errors spring from the definite conditions

of a period, and of its conception of the universe, from which even the greatest *cannot* be free. "In order to be just to great creative geniuses, we must not judge them by their share in popular prejudices. Columbus discovered America though he started with very erroneous ideas. Newton believed his foolish explanation of the Apocalypse to be as true as his theories in physics. Shall we place an ordinary man of our time above a Francis of Assisi, a Bernard, a Joan of Arc, or a Luther, because he is free from errors they made?" Renan also knows how these ideas originated: "This new earth and this new heaven, this new Jerusalem descending from above, this cry: 'Behold, I make all things new,' are characteristics common to all reformers. The contrast of the ideal with our pitiable reality will always cause revolts of the human heart against dispassionate reason, revolts which the average man regards as madness until the day of their triumph, the day when those who opposed them are the first to recognise their reasonableness."

The prophet, in the sphere of religion and morality, is what the genius is in the sphere of art. There are men for whom religion is nothing but a sum of dead formulæ and traditional ceremonies: these are the non-religious, and among these are many church-goers. There are men to whom religion is a golden thread in a grey fabric, to whom religion, like the rest on the Sunday afternoon each week, brightens life with its peace and joy, or to whom religion is the deep persistent fundamental feeling of life: these are the average believers. And let us be under no illusion. These quiet hours, these golden sun-rays, brighten many a sad life and make it worth living. Then there are men in whom religion is an all-permeating fire; but through selfishness and the unnatural suppression of their own life this fire grows duller, and though it continues it does not illuminate: these are the fanatics. There are, however, men in whom religion is a radiant flame and a consuming fire, a power to which they are subordinate in body and soul, a force which spurs them on and raises them to the extraordinary. These are prophets.

To measure the prophets by the standard of our own religion

and morality is like an average man trying to fathom the depths of Beethoven's musical genius. Such men cannot be understood so. Geniuses and prophets are given to mankind to raise it to a higher level, to teach it to perceive something of the great world that is "above our capacity," of that beauty and eternity that "no eye hath seen, nor ear heard, and no heart hath conceived."

Jesus saw the end of the world and the kingdom of glory coming so soon because his heart was so heavy, and he was so full of burning love to the poor and oppressed, the weary and heavy laden, to all those passionate hearts bowed down with guilt, who longed for the manifestation of God's grace. His belief sprang from the depth of his anger against all offensive sins, against everything hypocritical, against everything that led to misery, and mere pretence of piety. His hope was based upon the firm conviction that there is a God in heaven who is the Father of those who suffer, and a judge of sins and sanctimonious hypocrisy. That which in other hearts shines forth only spasmodically and is immediately suppressed again by the cares and the desires of the day, rose in his great prophetic soul to a flame in which, for him, everything else—the pleasures and the pains of earth—was consumed. It was thus that he saw the end near; it was thus that in his holy passion and yet with the tears of pain he proclaimed the coming judgment; it was thus that he saw in himself the incarnation of the forgiving as well as the judging will of God. It was thus that he experienced his God to a degree to which we have not yet risen.

Later we shall consider again the belief in an early advent of the Kingdom, when we treat of the individual problems of the reform of the State, of worship, and the Church. What we have said will suffice to establish for the present the point of view from which we must consider Jesus. When, finally, he opposed the commandments of purification; when, like Hosea, he emphasised the truth that mercy is better than sacrifice; when he disputed with the scribes and priests, holy scorn arose in him against those men and things, priests, law and sacrifice, that hinder men from repentance, conversion, purity of heart, inner surrender; men and

things that should help, but hinder the poor and the suffering, sinners and the longing, in coming to God. Only where he found them of this character did he wage war against them. He did not oppose the prevailing practice from the mere idea of improving the Church or the State—that idea was too insignificant—but from the fire that burned within him. He desired that men should be roused from that condition of self-assurance in which owing to their indolence they appeared secure, and thus truly bring them to God.

To conceive Jesus as a prophet is not sufficient, for that conception does no justice to those features pointed out by Strauss, Renan, and Hase, and sometimes called "Hellenistic." The figure as a whole is, however, not Hellenistic: only an age that regarded the ideal Greece of the Renaissance and of the German classical writers as real, could assume that. The type of man that comes before us so clearly and impressively in Jesus is quite a definite one: the saint. By this we mean a man inspired with tranquil and earnest love and peace in God; a man who has given himself over to the ideas of another world, not merely an "other" world, but a world of purity, love, and inwardness on earth; to a simple life blooming in the love of God, as the flowers blossom in the sun; a man whose invisible but enormous power of purity and moral healing shines forth upon others. The saint does not write; others absorb the rays of his being in their hearts, which through him have become pure and healthy. They radiate his warmth and spirituality in eternal streams of living power. What is it that they have treasured up from him? A simple saying, a look, a profound silence,—and thus they have represented him to us, because his personality appealed to their souls with irresistible force. They stand with him before the woman taken in adultery; he bent down and wrote in the sand: "He among you that is without sin, let him cast the first stone." He would be a poet indeed who could invent such things. What did he say of children? "Let the little children come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Why did the people record such simple things? Why to-day does a whole

world live in them? He who lived thus, who spoke so bewitchingly and so irresistibly to the hearts of men, almost without words; who brought them to such humiliation and raised them again to themselves and to God, so irresistibly that they had to follow, as the child seeks its home: he is the most holy, in quietness and meekness, the strongest man on earth.

Prophet and saint united in one earnest and faithful human life: not a reformer with laws and statutes, organisation and systematic doctrine of God, man, Church and State, that is Jesus as we see him, with the methods and results of historical research.

CHAPTER IV.

JESUS IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

THE modern industrial development produced, with astonishing rapidity, a population so dense, that a literary-æsthetic conception of education was no longer practical, and sentimental enthusiasm was simply ludicrous. Liberalism could not satisfy the new needs. The great tasks of education, the legacy from the English and German writers of the early decades of the century, tasks that had arisen in the springtime of Liberalism, grew beyond it. Liberalism could only appreciate the individual and the citizen: in face of the masses it was and is quite at a loss. In Germany the Catholic Church and the Social Democrats, as the two greatest organisations of the people, have taken out of the hands of Liberalism the task of influencing the masses. The faith of Liberalism in the goodness of men has become almost an object of derision.

Of all the problems that modern life involves, none burns more fiercely in all hearts, and none is more difficult, than that of social organisation, with all the separate tasks that are implicated in it. For it is not merely a question of the organisation of labour, and the distribution of its products; it is not merely a question of power and the means of existence; it is also a matter of education and culture; it is, in fact, the problem of what kind of life a man shall live among his fellow-men. From the night of half-impersonal existence, we are approaching the dawn of a new day, in which each is to have a conscious and personal share in the goods of life, lower and higher, material and spiritual. But more than that: humanity dreams of the building up of a new world, a world of happiness and justice,

when evolution shall have reduced our present world to ruins. It will be understood, therefore, that in the following pages it is not the political and economic, but the social and ethical aspects of the problem that will be considered. If we take a purely general survey of the problem from these points of view, we shall see at once that it involves much more than the material and spiritual welfare of the masses. We are faced with the questions: How far the conditions that have existed up till now are just? and, How far is it necessary and possible to bring about a new organisation of society as a whole? These questions then break up into innumerable individual problems.

Marriage and the family, social and national life, in which we share, are the great spheres where our powers are spent. Without them, life for us would be impossible; yet often they injure the individual and are life-destroying and oppressive, as we know them to-day. We live in a society that is swayed too much by great organisations, to stand outside of which is the same as to commit suicide. We live in an age in which the State makes claims upon its citizens uninterruptedly from birth to death: systems of compulsory education, and in many countries compulsory military service, force youth in its years of quickest development into a mechanical scheme. All this, let us remember, has grown up only during the nineteenth century. These forces oppress the strong and the normal as well as the weak and abnormal, in a truly gruesome manner. The picture of Sacha Schneider, "The Feeling of Dependence," in which a youth bound in chains, with head inclined in resignation, yields to the most terrible chastisement, may well summon up before the minds of the strongest and best men of our day the worst hours of their life. It is hardly strange that we have also experienced the wildest attack against society that the world has ever known: in the "morality" of Nietzsche. The quieter yet definite conflict of the individual with society that runs through almost all of Ibsen's plays, also shows how seriously our age takes these problems. We must therefore be careful not to condemn too

hastily those efforts at solution which, breaking out suddenly, and often going far beyond what is required, strive to overthrow our present organisation. We must rather endeavour to understand them psychologically.

When carefully considered, the general problem resolves itself into a number of problems dealing with different aspects of life. Along with the social question, in the wider sense of the organisation of society, are those concerning the best methods of State administration, and the form of the basal social unities of marriage and the family.

It is characteristic of our age that marriage has become a particularly difficult and serious problem. In the polygamic marriage of the ancients, involving almost complete absence of rights on the part of the wife, who was the purchased property of the husband, there were practically only two problems: that sons should be born to the husband, and that the wives should be at peace among themselves. The best known examples of this type of marriage, its needs and conflicts, are the marriages of the patriarchs in the Old Testament: the marriage of Abraham with Sarah and her maid, and the fate of the maid and her child; and then Jacob's marriage, and the rivalry of the two equally well-born wives. It is monogamy that first makes marriage itself a problem. For as Monotheism involves a different relation to God from that of Polytheism, so also from the singleness in monogamy has arisen a unique relationship between man and wife. The relation of the wife to the husband and the demands that are made by husband and wife upon one another are deepened to an extraordinary extent. Standing, as we do, in the midst of this process of the deepening and the spiritualising of marriage, it is not difficult to understand that the sacrifices that are now demanded from husband and wife force many to the question, whether we ought not to resort again to "free love" and polygamy. Notwithstanding the confusion of opinions upon these things in the present day, we are conscious that many are making an earnest search for the truly moral form of marriage; we cannot fail to recognise the seriousness with which

questions concerning marriage are asked. Such endeavour and earnestness are not without promise.

It was only natural that Jesus should be faced with these burning questions of modern life, and answers to them sought from him. Did not Jesus desire to help the poor, the hungry, and the thirsty, all those that are weary and heavy laden, all those that suffer? Did not his loving heart lead him just to those who were regarded, by the wealthy and those in authority, as the vulgar and sinful? Ought not he to be a helper in every social need who said, "Give to him that asketh of thee"? Was he not an enemy of oppressive capitalism who said: When ye lend money, do it not with the thought of receiving it again, to say nothing of interest? Did he not say to the rich young man that he should give all he had to the poor? Did he not require inseparable monogamy, and with regard to the State pronounce the significant saying concerning the coins that bore Cæsar's superscription? Was he not a physician? Did he not fight against disease as one of man's greatest evils?

In this manner almost all modern social movements have made appeal to Jesus, even those of Socialism. Though many of the official leaders of the latter will hear nothing of this, many less prominent advocates are of another opinion, and again and again they use the sayings of Jesus with their own interpretation. Only where the hatred of ecclesiasticism is very strong, as in the eighteenth century, is all reference even to the person of Jesus omitted—only there is his voice not heard.

In the light of these movements our picture of Jesus has acquired definitely new traits, which have revealed and brought nearer to us long overlooked truths. On the other hand, the purely modern environment into which he has been suddenly placed, and the way his discourses have been made to answer modern questions, have often distorted his picture and disfigured his features.

Notwithstanding the great differences to be found between the Catholic and the Protestant Christian Socialists and the materialistic Socialists, and the difference that exists in conse-

quence between their answers to the question who Jesus was, there is a remarkable similarity in their views as to what Jesus desired.

The Beginnings of Christian Socialism.

The first, and in many respects the most remarkable effort on behalf of a religiously inspired solution of social problems, is to be found in the work of Lamennais. The spirit and intention of his work are best seen in *Paroles d'un Croyant* ("Words of a Believer"), published in 1833. The book was written with deeply religious emotion: that it was placed under the ban of the ecclesiastical authority, is an example of the latter's temporal policy and spiritual obtuseness.

Lamennais lived before the time when increased attention was paid to the human Jesus, and he referred but little directly to him, nevertheless he kept remarkably free from the discussion of dogmatic Christianity. He had breathed the spirit of Jesus and his teaching, and it was that which he would arouse in his readers. His fundamental idea was the necessity of a unity springing up from the spirit of brotherhood: united, men may overcome their oppressors and most of their evils. Like Hobbes before and Comte afterwards, he conceived "the whole human race" as "one man."

"A man was journeying in mountainous country and arrived at a spot where a great boulder had rolled on to the path and filled it entirely. Apart from the path there was no other way either to the right or to the left. Seeing that he could not continue his journey on account of this boulder, he tried to move it to make a way for himself; but though he wearied himself by his efforts, they were in vain. When he saw this, he sat down filled with alarm, saying: What will become of me when night overtakes me in this solitary place, without food, shelter, or defence, at a time when the wild beasts wander about in search of prey? While he was absorbed in this thought, another traveller arrived, and after having tried without success to move the rock, also sat down in silence with bowed head. Afterwards

there came several others, and none was able to move the boulder, and they were all greatly afraid.

"At last one of them said to the others: 'Brothers, let us pray to our Father which is in heaven: perhaps he will have pity on us in our distress.'

"So they listened to what he said, and they prayed from their hearts to their heavenly Father. And when they had prayed, the one who had said, Let us pray, said: 'Brothers, who knows whether all together we may not do that which alone we could not do?'

"So they got up, and all together they pushed the boulder, and it gave way, and they went on their journey in peace.

"The traveller is man; the journey is life; the boulder is the difficulty and misery he meets on each step of his way. No man alone can move this boulder, but God has ordained that it shall not be too great for those who journey together."

Unity is possible only on a basis of justice and charity. These Jesus taught. Justice requires men to respect the rights of others. Charity sometimes leads men to sacrifice their own rights for the sake of peace or some other good. But, further, Jesus brings consolation. He influences men, even the worst of them, through his personal appeal. Lamennais saw here more truly than Carlyle the real nature of Christian power. "The spirit of Jesus is a spirit of peace, of mercy, and of love." "Jesus went about doing good, drawing men to him by his goodness, and by his sweetness affecting even the hardest of hearts." He pronounced blessing on all except hypocrites. The sympathy of Lamennais is with the "people"; it was they who heard Jesus gladly. We can hardly doubt that Lamennais thought also of the conditions of his own time.

"Who was it who pressed around the Christ to hear his word? The people.

"Who followed him into the mountains and solitary places to listen to his teaching? The people.

"Who wanted to choose him as king? The people.

"Who spread their clothes and threw palms before him,

crying, Hosanna, when he made his entry into Jerusalem? The people."

Rulers and masters know the power of such unity, and they have aroused a spirit of militarism to divert the attention of the people to other channels. They have gained obedience and discipline in the main through making fidelity and honour a kind of religion. The voice of Lamennais was one of the first in the century to be raised against militarism. In the questions which he asked he sowed seed which one day must bring forth fruit. "If the oppressors of the peoples were left to themselves without help from others, what could they do against them? If, to keep them in slavery, they have the help only of those who profit by slavery, what would this small number of men do against the peoples as a whole?"

The life of Jesus had special bearing upon poverty. "He became poor to teach you to bear poverty." Poverty is due to the bad desires of men; it is the daughter of sin and of slavery. As man will never destroy all the sin that is in him, there will always be poor. But "there will always be less poor, because little by little slavery will disappear from society."

Lamennais described the ideal to which this spirit of Jesus points. "In the city of God, each loves his brothers as himself, and for this reason none are abandoned, none suffer, if there is any remedy to prevent it. In the city of God all are equal, none lord it over others, for justice reigns only where there is love. In the city of God each possesses without fear what belongs to him, and desires no more, because that which belongs to each belongs to all, and because all possess God in whom are all things. In the city of God none sacrifice others for themselves, but each is ready to sacrifice himself for others."

In England the social movement has kept a much closer relation to religion than in most other countries. Even in those circles where there has been no recognition of religion, and where there has been opposition to religious organisations, there has been little manifestation of bitterness. For this we have chiefly to thank three men, each great in his own way—F. Denison

Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and John Ruskin, and all at one in the earnestness with which they occupied themselves with the social problem. Maurice gave the spirit and, in large part, determined the form of the Christian Socialist movement in England, especially of that definitely connected with the Established Church. The adoption of the title "Christian Socialism" was due to him. That description, he contended, "commits us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists."

The Christian Socialist movement in England owed much of its original power to the revival of religious life due to the Oxford Movement. Inspired with a spirit of earnestness, many who could not follow in the effort to revive ancient ceremonial practice and to breathe into the formularies of the Church a more Catholic spirit, found a sphere of activity in relation to the social implications of the gospel. The contact with the spirit of the Oxford Movement exercised a great influence upon the theoretical presentation of the principles underlying the Social movement. The Oxford Movement was not concerned with the historical or ethical consideration of the person of Jesus or of his teaching. Its attention was concentrated on the life and organisation of the Church and upon the dogmas of the creeds. The attitude of Maurice towards Christian doctrine was essentially the same, though he endeavoured to give that doctrine a deep philosophical interpretation. The person of Jesus was regarded as the manifestation of a divine being "who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven . . . and was incarnate . . . and made man." The doctrine of the incarnation, of the union of the human and the divine, was made central, implying that human life is holy and must be treated accordingly. However good his great influence, it cannot be denied that it has been largely due to Maurice that English theological students have been prevented from turning directly to the historical Jesus for help in social problems.

In Charles Kingsley the movement had a man who was more free from transcendent theological ideas. With deep and strong

feelings he combined immense energy and courage, and a fine gift for writing. For years, by practical organisation, preaching, by his novels and other writings, he championed the cause of social reform. The place his work occupies in the public mind demands that we should give it a little fuller treatment than we have been able to accord to Maurice. In the upheavals of 1847–8 he wrote on the one hand counselling the Chartists to prudence, and on the other hand exposing the evil sanitary and industrial conditions under which so many lived. His power was felt because he did not content himself with mere ethical platitudes, but made careful examination of the facts, and while animated by strong feeling, expressed himself moderately. In *Alton Locke*, for example, he sketched the sweating and worse, which existed in connection with the tailoring trade, the evils of which accrued very largely from the development of commercialism and of large companies that got clothes made by contract from middlemen who doled out the work to the workers, forcing down their wages to the lowest point. In a series of tracts on "Christian Socialism" he again exposed this sweating system in a pamphlet called *Cheap Clothes and Nasty.* The inspiration to all his work he found in his Christian faith, through which he strove to arouse enthusiasm in those around him.

He was very concerned at the effect of the wide circulation of the work of Strauss. That work, however, he was hardly in a position to appreciate; he lived in an entirely different atmosphere. In referring to it he simply says: "What I want to do is to make people believe in the incarnation as the one solution of all doubts and fears for all heaven and earth. . . . As long as you see in Jesus the perfect ideal of man you are in the right *path*, you are *toward* the light. . . ." Such a passage reveals at once the basis of his social views. Kingsley's best influence was a personal one, the example of his life, rather than the bare formulation of definite propositions after careful general consideration of social needs. Above all, he was essentially practical, as may be seen by an illustration from his sermons. "If you really

believe that Jesus is the sworn enemy of misery and disease, you will show yourselves, too, the sworn enemies of everything that causes misery and disease, and work together like men to put all pestilential filth and damp out of this parish." Again: "We do not feed our beasts of burden only so long as they are in health, and when they fall sick leave them to cure themselves and starve —and these are not our beasts of burden, they are members of Christ, children of God, inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven."

Later in life Kingsley began to feel that the aversion to Christianity was not a theoretical one as he had once supposed, but a moral disapproval and repulsion from the common presentation of certain motives to good. He wrote in 1871 that the attitude of the young opponent is—"We will have nothing to do with God, as long as He is one who sends the many to Tartarus, the few to Olympus. We will have nothing to do with a future state, as long as it is said to contain a Tartarus, and that an endless and irremeable one. The Olympus is beautiful, possible, but unprovable. The Tartarus is horrible to our moral sense, and shall be exterminated from the human mind." Unfortunately there are still some who think the hope of heaven and the fear of hell are the greatest incentives to "good" conduct. Kingsley knew that from such motives "good" conduct is worth nothing: it is not what life holds for us. "Can the hope of heaven, or the fear of hell, make a man do right? . . . The right thing, the true thing for man, is to be loving and do loving things: and can fear of hell do that, or hope of heaven either?"

No. The only thing worth having in life is love. That is the teaching of Jesus—compared with it the goods of civilisation and culture are transient and trivial. Love, as taught and manifested by Jesus, was a deeply rooted and lofty ideal, which shows itself in service. The influence of Jesus himself and of his teaching, and not the hope of happiness or the fear of pain, is the strongest force leading to the service of love. He did at times point forward to the Kingdom of Heaven as the reward of the good, and declared that men were in danger of the fire of

hell. The passage relating to the latter may be an interpolation, but, in any case, it does not hold up fear as a motive, it states a fact that is in some way true. In it Jesus was under the influence of the thought of his time. What we have to insist upon is that the spirit of the man is against such external expressions. Kingsley had grasped the truth that personal contact and influence are the supreme powers leading to a true and happy life. "There must be One Person somewhere who can call out the whole love in us—all our gratitude; all our pity; all our admiration; all our loyalty; all our brotherly affection. *And there is one.* One who has done more for us than ever husband or father, wife or brother, can do to call out our gratitude. One who has suffered for us more than the saddest wretch upon this earth can suffer, to call out our pity. One who is nobler, purer, more lovely in character than all others who ever trod this earth to call out our admiration. One who is wiser, mightier, than all our rulers and philosophers to call out our reverence. One who is tenderer, more gentle, more warm-hearted than the kindest woman who ever sat by a sick bed to call out our love. . . . I say, if we cannot love Christ, whom can we love?"

The social teaching of John Ruskin was so deep and comprehensive that it is wrong to apply to him any term which suggests a partial attitude. Nevertheless his influence has been so great and his teaching has so much in common with the Christian Socialists that reference to him cannot he omitted. Even in his art criticism, Ruskin realised the truth that humanity is the object of human endeavour. In *Modern Painters* he says: "All art which involves no reference to man is inferior or nugatory. And all art which involves misconception of man, or base thought of him, is in that degree base and false." Art has to be brought into relation to "human passion" and "human hope." Nothing could be nearer to the teaching of Jesus than Ruskin's view of values. It was a noble and happy human life, free from excess of riches, from poverty, anxiety and care, that Jesus wished for all men. In like terms John Ruskin interprets

wealth. "THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings: that man is richest, who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others." At the basis of his teaching was the belief in the Fatherhood of God. Further, he took seriously the logical consequence of this doctrine in the brotherhood of man: "If any part or word of Christianity be true, the literal Brotherhood in Christ is true; and that we are bound every one of us, by the same laws of kindness to every Christian man and woman as to the immediate members of our own households."

It is only fair to Ruskin to note that he was not a believer in democracy: this, perhaps, was due to the influence of his teacher Carlyle. Unfortunately, Ruskin did not recognise that men may strive for a spiritual life in co-operation for self-government. "Note, finally," he says towards the end of *Unto this Last*, "that all effectual advancement towards this true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort." And he insists that men have not only to consider how they use their material goods, but also how they acquired them: they have to consider the lives and conditions of their employees as included in the "cost" of production. Employees are to claim more than material welfare: "Claim your crumbs from the table, if you will; but claim them as children, not as dogs: claim your right to be fed; but claim, more loudly, your right to be holy, perfect, and pure." The spirit of the teaching of Jesus meets us at almost every point, though Ruskin has a much more thorough and careful view of the problem and its solution than was shown by the Christian Socialists of his day. He does, however, at times let himself fall into a sentimentalism. "Therefore, you who are eating luxurious dinners, call in the tramp from the highway and share with him—so gradually you will understand how your brother came to *be* a tramp; and practically

make your own dinner plain till the poor man's dinner is rich—or you are no Christians; and you who are dressing in fine dress, put on blouses and aprons till you have got your poor dressed with grace and decency—or you are no Christians; and you who can sing and play on instruments, hang your harps on the pollards above the rivers you have poisoned, or else go down among the mad and vile and deaf things whom you have made, and put melody into the souls of them—else you are no Christians." Impassioned, even sentimental as that is, it nevertheless emphasises the great truth that Ruskin taught, in so far as it affects social practice. We are to see that all men have a full human life, so far as society is able to procure it. That is the teaching he finds in the parable in which all the workers in the vineyard received a penny. We are to strive "until the time come when Christ's gift of bread and bequest of peace, shall be 'unto this last' as unto us."

The revolution in Italy was carried out under the influence of a reformer and prophet inspired with religious enthusiasm. Few of us recognise fully the changes that were brought about in Italy during the last century, and the way in which they were due to the consolidating influences of the teaching of Mazzini. The inspiration and message of Mazzini remind us more of those of Lamennais than of any other man in the movement towards social betterment. Mazzini throbbed with more life because of the very prominent active part he took in the attempts to break down the old régime. For us, amongst whom Mazzini lived for many years, the earnestness of his teaching and its lucidity must remain his chief ground of appeal. Like Lamennais, he generally avoided reference to orthodox statements of doctrine; but he had not imbibed the spirit of that personal and historical treatment of Christianity which makes Jesus the central figure. He was more definite in the elaboration of detail than was Lamenais, as was necessary in view of his practical mission. His ideals were too lofty for them to have been achieved even yet. To-day there is at least a united Italy: in the future the spirit and nature of the unity may become more that of Mazzini—and of Jesus. Mazzini,

however, has a significance far beyond his own country: in England his influence was widely felt, and his books are still reprinted.

It was a gospel of humanity that he found in the teaching of Jesus, but, and this is of the greatest importance, of humanity in relation to God. Humanity is as a man who lives and learns for ever. Humanity is the successive incarnation of God. It is the most perfect manifestation of God upon our earth. The relation of the individual with God is the soul of Christianity, and this involves the relationship with other men, in the spirit of equality and human brotherhood. "Foremost and grandest amid the teachings of Christ were these two inseparable truths—There is but one God: all men are the sons of God. . . ." To the duties of men toward their families and country, Christianity added the duty toward humanity. The social movement in which he was engaged, one which in some way or other was spreading over Europe, he described as an attempt at a practical realisation of the Lord's Prayer.

The problems of the poor and the need for unity in ideal and action aroused him; but though he preached a gospel of democracy he avoided the extreme of communism, such as was taught by Wagner. Democracy is the progress of all through all, under the guidance of the wisest and the best, for the law of life cannot be fulfilled except by the united labours of all. Mazzini's power was that of the prophet, the preacher of an ideal, but at the same time he had a balance of judgment on things intellectual, combined with the force and boldness of a patriotic leader. When necessary he would fight against the forces of evil, but fundamental in all his work was the conviction that democracy to be lasting must be on a religious basis.

His method, therefore, was not that of a demand for "rights" such as we find in the thinkers of the later eighteenth century and the French Revolution, as, for example, in the writings of Paine, but an insistence on the "duties" of man, and the recognition of the goodness of working for all. "When Christ came and changed the face of the world, he spoke not of rights to the rich, who did not need to contend for them; nor to the poor,

who would doubtless have abused them, in imitation of the rich; he spoke not of utility, nor of interest, to a people whom interest and utility would have corrupted: he spoke of Duty, he spoke of Love, of Sacrifice, of Faith; and he said that they should be first among all, who had contributed most by their labour to the good of all."

Mazzini did not work on a basis of historical study of the life and teaching of Jesus, and his representation of Christianity lacks concreteness. He had, nevertheless, by a sort of intuition, felt its essential spirit. If social aims were the substance of his life's activity, religious feeling and conviction were his mainstay. The resurrection he knew was a spiritual one. "The soul the most full of love, the most sacredly virtuous, the most deeply inspired by God and the future, that men have seen on earth—Jesus—bent over the corpse of the dead world and whispered a word of faith. Over the clay that had lost all of man but the movement and form, he uttered the words until then unknown—love, sacrifice, a heavenly origin. And the dead arose. A new life circulated through the clay that philosophy had tried in vain to reanimate. From that corpse arose the Christian world, the world of liberty and equality. From that clay arose the true man, the image of God, the precursor of Humanity." Perhaps, some day, when the authorities of the Church and their opponents have risen above the discussion of obsolete dogmas and forms, we shall be nearer to experiencing this as a reality.

In the emancipation which he foresaw, Mazzini felt that woman must share, not merely as a necessity of her own being, but also for the true development of man and the healthiness of family life. The spirit of Jesus, the teaching of Jesus, the cause of humanity, demand it. "Consider woman, therefore, as the partner and companion not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies and your endeavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life. Be ye the two wings that lift the soul towards the ideal we are destined to attain." The cause of the family is the cause of humanity. "The family, is it not the

germ of the State—the nation: as the State, the nation, is the germ of humanity?"

Richard Wagner's "Jesus of Nazareth," and Communism.

In the Revolution of 1848, which was above all else a struggle for the continuance of the middle class and Liberalism, among the few fine spirits who perceived the advent of the great social conflict of the nineteenth century was Richard Wagner.

A communism upon a religious basis was the passionate faith of a great number of the boldest and best men of that time; and this was the faith of Richard Wagner. Many of the songs of the Revolution of 1848 revealed the readiness to make sacrifices for the cause of all who were trodden down and oppressed among the people. From such ideas and feelings as were then expressed, Wagner, with an abundance of deep thoughts, wrote the outlines of a remarkable drama, *Jesus of Nazareth*. Although it was left unfinished, and only became known in 1887, it is so clear a witness of the springtime of that Liberal social movement that we must treat it in some detail. Unfortunately, Wagner is continually misunderstood, even in the wide circle of his admirers, because they consider him solely from the point of view of his music. Wagner always wished to be something more than a composer such as Mozart or Beethoven. His art, his music as well as his poetry—seemed to be the means given to him to inaugurate a movement for the regeneration of our whole life. He desired to be a reformer, and this aim was present through his youth and in his old age, although they represent two quite different periods in his inner life. In his youth, Wagner wrote of "Jesus"; in his old age he was cut off from the earth when planning to write of "Buddha." He always worked to restore again to the world its "lost" health; but he changed his opinion concerning how this might be done.

The fundamental problem of social life may be summed up in the question: In what does the sustaining power of all human life lie, in law or inner spirit? To-day, with our politics based on

force and the facts of sense, the obvious consequence of a materialistic conception of man and of life—emphasis is usually placed upon law. The simple good men who give themselves up to human feeling, honesty, and faith are laughed at. Wagner thought otherwise, and saw more deeply than the wise people of our own day, who hear his operas without grasping how earnestly and deeply he meant what he said. "Love alone can keep men happy in pleasure and in pain, not oppressive contracts and deceptive covenants; not hypocritical customs and rigid laws."

Love solves the problems of our life; love in contrast to every law, to every idea of law, which is but the bondage of the will to externals. It was the message of love that Jesus brought; love that extends beyond the family to the whole of humanity. So Wagner makes him say: "By law came bitterness into the world; and from that, only the commandment of God: Ye shall love one another—can redeem you. All other commandments are vain and to be condemned." "Now we maintain that man is justified not through obedience to the law, but through love alone."

What does all this mean? Why does love make man holy, and the law make him unholy? Why are love and law mutually exclusive opposites? Let us see now how Wagner proposes to solve the individual problems.

We have first the fundamental problem, that of communism and of private property. Wagner's Jesus speaks against property that must be protected by law, not against the mere accumulation of wealth. "Lay not up the treasures of this world, and heap not Mammon, that thieves may dig for; neither ask: 'What shall we eat?' or, 'What shall we drink?' Do ye according to the love of God, that is, show love unto your neighbours, and all these things shall be added unto you; for God hath made the world to your honour, and riches and all that it containeth is for your enjoyment—each man according to his need. But where ye gather treasures together in opposition to human love, there ye also gather the thieves against whom ye publish the law: so law maketh sinners, and Mammon maketh thieves." "He who has heaped up treasure that thieves can steal has broken the law first,

because he has deprived his neighbour of what was necessary to him. Which then is the thief; he who deprives his neighbour of what is necessary, or he who takes from the rich that of which they have no need?"

Men have created the State, the sum-total of all law, in order to protect property. The State is the greatest enemy of Jesus. The machinery of the State has been invented to protect wealth; for the sake of wealth it is maintained and preserved. It binds the hearts and consciences of men in miserable slavery. It has not sprung from love, but rather, for the sake of wealth, it kills love. The mood of the *Nibelung Ring*, of the song of the curse of wealth and of the State, resounds in Wagner's Jesus: "This money beareth Cæsar's token; but whose mark I bear, his slave I am. . . . Would ye gather the treasures of love to have enough for all your life? then cast from you the treasures of the world, wherewith ye cannot still the cravings of one day; wherefore I say unto you: 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's—and to God, the things that are God's.'"

Between Emperor and God, between God and State, there is no peace.

Instead of trusting love, which unites man to man, we have invented law. Even the inmost love, the love of man and wife, has been subjected to law, marriage; for it is thought necessary to protect this love legally. But "Not marriage hallows love—but love hallows marriage." The essence of love is everlasting; law, which is compulsion, is not. "A pair that mutually inclines without compulsion can do this solely from pure love, and this love, so long as nothing crosses it, can naturally admit no surcease." On the other hand, marriage without love, brought about merely externally by the law, is invalid and amounts to nothing. "The commandment saith: Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, 'Ye shall not marry without love.' A marriage without love is broken as soon as entered into, and who hath wooed without love hath already broken faith. If ye follow my commandment, how can ye ever break it? for it bids you do what your own heart and soul desire. But where ye

marry without love, ye bind yourselves together at variance with God's law; in your wedding ye sin against God; and this sin avengeth itself by your striving next against the law of man, in that ye break the marriage vow."

It is therefore not "free love" in the usual meaning of this expression that Wagner preaches, but a conception of marriage in which affection alone, and not the external tie, shall be the basis of the relation between man and wife.

With the aid of profound speculation concerning the unity of the human race and its evolution to a harmonious whole, Wagner unites all these individual requirements in a characteristic philosophy of life. In this he is in entire agreement with the modern conception of the world. Miracles are not for him supernatural occurrences, though he appreciates and uses them, on the one hand, as a dramatist in his operas, which without them would be poor in action; and, on the other hand, as a philosopher, in illustration. At that time Wagner was a disciple of Hegel, though he accepted his philosophy only with particular modifications. He taught a unity of the human race. "Like as the body hath many and divers members whereof each hath its peculiar kind and office, yet all the members constitute one body, so are all men members of one God." "All who know God are partakers of immortality with him; but to know God is to serve him, that is, to love their neighbours as themselves." For Wagner, therefore, God is that mystic unity of the human race which becomes manifest in love, and to know which is love. From the beginning God has been one with humanity.

The first generations of men "lived and moved" in this unity, innocent and knowing nothing of it. When with growing insight they learned to distinguish the injurious from the useful, they called the injurious evil and they felt themselves imperfect. The sense of simple security having departed, man doubted God, that is, the goodness of humanity and love. Human society sought protection against this doubt and invented law. When the words "good" and "evil" had been changed from implying "the loving" and "the loveless" to "the lawful" and "the

unlawful," law grew and became transformed from a beneficent educative power to an enslaving, hostile tyranny, leading man to sin. For law, once established, remains, while the needs of humanity so change that only a love eternally new is able to satisfy them. Law has thus led to human suffering, which is the suffering of God himself. Nothing can avail in opposition to this except a return to the original condition, to love. So Jesus teaches: "Between father and son, *i.e.* the everliving God, ye have placed the Law, and thus set God at variance with Himself: I slay the Law, and in its stead proclaim the Holy Spirit—which is Eternal Love."

In this spirit Jesus led his life of renunciation, and went to his death, giving thereby the highest proof of love. For death, as the surrender of the body, is the sacrifice of the last thing that hinders us from being taken up completely in the life of the Whole. All our life, when it is inspired by love, is nothing other than a continual joyful submission to death for others, for in this sacrificing work of love we consume our life. Our immortality is our continuance in the thankful hearts of those we loved. The egotist wastes his life by continual anxiety for himself; to him apply the words of the Epistle of James iv. 2: "Ye lust and have not; ye kill, and covet, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, and ye have not." Only through love will the needs of all be met, and the life of all protected.

Who would deny that Wagner's system contains many great and profound ideas? Along with many quite remarkable statements, he emphasises deep and often overlooked truths. However strange it may appear to us that Wagner desired to create a world dependent on love alone, without organisation and the State based on force, it is nevertheless true that we could not live a moment as a society, if trust and love did not protect our life. Mere cleverly limited individualism and law cannot help us. Wagner's Jesus says rightly: "Is the law of life, which has been from the beginning and will be for ever, so impossible here on earth, though in it alone ye live? Whereas the law of man, which was broken in the very giving, ye hold imperatively

necessary! Open your eyes and see what every child can see!" There can be no doubt that Wagner with his doctrine of love has grasped the deepest thoughts, more even, the inmost nature of Jesus. Jesus also believed in a world in which truth and love and abundance of life were supreme. It was that for which he longed. Only, he did not expect it from a new organisation of men, but from a saving act of God's. That to-day we so often look upon a disappearance of law and of the State by the triumph of love as a foolish dream, or that we look forward to such a State only in another world, and that the official representatives of Christianity so often regard as the highest wisdom the saying of Paul's concerning the ruler that "bears not his sword in vain" (Rom. xiii. 4), show how slowly we rise to the height of the ideal of Jesus, and how seldom we hold up ideals that are an aim and a source of light to the centuries. Certainly we seek ways other than those of Jesus to realise these aims; ways which by gradual evolution lead from polytheistic, political, legal humanity to the kingdom of the children of God; wearisome and long ways that cannot be traversed with the seven-league boots of our wishes. In "the trivial round and common task" of daily life we too often lose sight of the aim, and the longing for the new ideal of humanity becomes feeble. Ever and anon we need men who, bold and strong, teach us to look upwards and forwards to the distant heights to which humanity may climb.

In everything else Wagner's modern pantheistic world of ideas is in contradiction with that of Jesus. His pantheism is not the faith of Jesus in his Father in heaven: the immortality he teaches is not Jesus' expectation of an eternal personal life with the Father; his hope is not Jesus' prediction of a great transformation of the world. Just in this last point Wagner's religion also shows itself to be stronger than his system. Is it to be taken as referring to Wagner's own time, when he lets his Jesus say; "The farther, therefore, that my word shall be taught and the world walketh not thereby, the greater will become sin and suffering in the world: nations shall rise against nations, and the mighty of the earth shall lead men forth to slaughter through

their covetousness; but then I will come again and with my faithful people overcome the world, that the kingdom of God may be founded even upon earth, and never pass away, for the kingdom of love endures for ever." Notwithstanding that he believed in eternal evolution and in the imperfection of everything terrestrial, this man, longing for the revival of the people, hoped —with all his own imperfection—that he should not die till he had seen the kingdom of God come with power.

Wagner has succeeded least in his effort to understand the personality of Jesus in its original force and greatness. He has made of Jesus a stiff, pedantic philosopher, who forces his wisdom upon men with a steadfastness of purpose which is at times even brutal. Take, for example, the following conversation between Jesus and Mary, who is represented as living in a loveless marriage with Joseph:—

"*Jesus:* 'Mother, why barest thou these?' *Mary:* 'Saith not the law, "Let the wife be subject to the husband?" *Jesus:* 'Thou sinnest when thou nourishest and broughtest them up without love. . . . But I am come to redeem thee also from thy sin: for they shall love me for God's sake, and thank you, that through God thou gavest me to the world.'" That is more disgusting than amusing, and it is fortunate that this representation of Jesus has never been put on the stage. With its hollow pathos and its artificial self-satisfaction, this refutes most emphatically the teaching about love. Nothing is more incorrect than to make Jesus a teacher marked supremely by wisdom and pathos. Never was any one more human and gentle, or more careful and unobtrusive than Jesus. We can see his nature if we but represent vividly to ourselves the scene of the "great sinner" as Luke describes it with such incomparable beauty (Luke vii. 36–50).

One of the Pharisees invited Jesus to come and eat with him; for there was a time when he was "modern" and "interesting," and he was often so invited. The host sat and waited to see what unexpected things the prophet would say. The door opened half-way and a woman came quietly in. The

Pharisee knew her well: it caused him pain that she should enter his honourable house, but he was curious to see how matters would develop. The woman, kneeling weeping behind Jesus, began to moisten his feet with her tears and to wipe them with the hair of her head, and kissed them and anointed them with ointment. When the Pharisee saw it, the corners of his mouth twitched and a scornful smile passed over his face. "This man if he were a prophet would have perceived who, and what manner of woman, this is who toucheth him, that she is a sinner."

Jesus divined the man's thought, and he began: "Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee." "Master, say on." The guests became silent; their attention was turned from the woman to the conversation between the men. Jesus continued: "A certain man had two debtors; the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty. When they had not wherewith to pay he forgave them both. Which of them therefore will love him most?" The Pharisee answered, "He, I suppose, to whom he forgave the most." Jesus said to him, "Thou hast answered rightly. . . . Seest thou this woman?" And he turned towards the woman kneeling almost behind him; for the first time directing attention upon her only after the host had himself passed judgment. "I entered into thine house; thou gavest me no water for my feet, but she hath wetted my feet with her tears, and wiped them with her hair. Thou gavest me no kiss; but she, since the time that I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou didst not anoint, but she hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much."

The last sentence has often been wrongly explained: it has been supposed that Jesus said her sins were forgiven *because* she had shown him much love. That is quite wrong. What Jesus intended in agreement with the parable was that, as she showed so much love, he knew that many sins had been forgiven her; for only one to whom many sins had been forgiven could manifest

such grateful love. Why did he speak with such strange ambiguity? Was it not from the delicacy of his feeling?

He treated with the greatest consideration the woman whom they all thought they might treat with contempt. He related the parable of the two debtors without any need for the guests to hear it, occupied as they were with their own suffering and joy. How finely he knew how to say to the Pharisee, who thought himself far above the sinful woman, that he also was a debtor to God. Jesus was no fanatic: he agreed willingly with the Pharisee that he was ten times better than the woman. How delicately he said, If I had been more to you, if my call to repentance had meant more to you, you would have received me otherwise. To this woman, I and my message are much more, and thus I know that she must be a great sinner. And yet he did not speak so; with a glance at the woman he said no hard, humiliating word, but simply that her sins, her many sins, were forgiven. How she must have understood his meaning and how happy it must have made her! Jesus had seen into her heart. She did not feel now so much the awe-inspiring purity that had bowed her low before him, but the goodness radiating from his eyes, which gave her the certainty that his God had forgiven her.

Jesus was delicate, gentle, and modest in speaking of sin, even to the most miserable of men. We find in him no trace of that moral repugnance that Wagner's Jesus shows towards his mother. Jesus was not a rigid systematiser and moralist, but a prophet whose entire nature manifested the majesty of a pure heart and the winning power of an unshakable, trusting love. Thus he drew men to him by subduing them inwardly.

Attempts have been made at different times to represent Jesus as a contemporary, and by this means, in the form of a novel or otherwise, to criticise prevailing conditions. A noteworthy example, advocating with vigour a communism, was published anonymously in England under the title, *The True History of Joshua Davidson.* A carpenter, and the son of a carpenter, "Joshua" (David's son) is represented as being repulsed

very early in life by his parish priest for his lack of "respect." Later, in London, he forms a band of fellow-workers who go about trying to relieve the sufferings of the people, and calling attention to the iniquity of the conditions that have produced them. He spends some time in France during the Commune, returns to England, and, finding no work, starts an active propaganda of Socialist views. In a meeting in which the opposition to him is led by his old parish priest, he is attacked and done to death by the crowd. Both in the description of "Joshua" himself, and the account he gives of Jesus, we see how Jesus was conceived by participators in the social movement at that time.

"Joshua" was "a real man of the people of his time, of lowly birth, of confessed scientific ignorance, in antagonism to all the wealth and culture, class refinement and political economy of his day, fighting the cause of the poor against the rich, of the outcast against the aristocrat, just as any earnest democrat, any single-hearted communist might be doing at the present day." Error arose in the organised Church, which, losing the spirit of Christ, accepted the theology and the dogmas of Paul. "Look what they have made of me, of an unskilled artisan, no schoolman even of my day. Of a vagrant preacher living by charity, they have made a king; of a man, a god; of a preacher of universal tolerance, the head of a persecuting religion; of a life, a dogma; of an example, a Church. Here am I, Jesus the Nazarene, the son of Joseph and Mary, as I lived on earth; poor, unlearned, a plebeian, and a socialist, at war with the gentlemen and ladies of my society, the enemy of forms, of creeds, and of the priestly class of respectabilities; and there you see my modern travesty, this jewelled, ornate, ecclesiastical Christianity which is the ancient Pharisee revived. . . . The world wants the thing, not the label: Christ-likeness, not ecclesiastical Christianity, is the best saviour of men."

The historical Jesus is nevertheless not the ideal for these advocates of communism. He thought too little of external conditions in comparison with the value he placed upon the

spiritual and religious frame of mind. If Jesus came now he would have different methods. In his teaching that a man "saves his soul best by helping his neighbour," we have a "foothold" for social teaching. So "Joshua" says: "I have proved to myself the sole meaning of Christ: it is Humanity. I relinquish the miracles, the doctrine of the Atonement, the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, and the unelastic finality of his knowledge. He was the product of his time: and if he went beyond it in some things, he was only abreast of it in others. His views of human life were oriental; his images are drawn from the autocratic despotism of the great and the slavish submission of the humble, and there is never a word of reprobation of these conditions, as conditions, only of the individuals according to their desert. He did his best to remedy that injustice, so far as there might be solace in thought, by proclaiming the spiritual equality of all men, and the greater value of worth than of status. But he left the social question where he found it—paying tribute to Cæsar without reluctance—his mind not being ripe to accept the idea of a radical revolution, and his hands not strong enough to accomplish it. Neither he nor his disciples imagined more than the communism of their own sect; they did not touch the throne of Cæsar, or the power of the hereditary irresponsible lord. Their communism never aimed at the equalisation of classes throughout all society. Hence I cannot accept the beginning of Christian politics as final, but hold we have to carry on the work under different forms. The modern Christ would be a politician. His aim would be to raise the whole platform of society; he would not try to make the poor contented with a lot in which they cannot be better than savages or brutes. He would work at the destruction of caste, which is the vice at the root of all our creeds and institutions. He would not content himself with denouncing sin as merely spiritual evil; he would go into its economic causes, and destroy the flower by cutting at the roots—poverty and ignorance. He would accept the truths of science, and he would teach that a man saves his own soul by helping his neighbour. That, indeed, he did teach: and that is the one solid foothold I

have. Friends, Christianity according to Christ is the creed of human progress, not that of resignation to the unavoidable miseries of class. . . . Let us abandon the idolatry with which we have obscured the meaning of the life; let us go back to the man, and carry on his work in its essential spirit in the direction suited to our own times and social conditions. . . . Christianity is an organisation having politics for its means and the equalisation of classes for its end. It is communism. . . . The man Jesus is my Master, and by his example I will walk."

We can all admit that Jesus would have adopted other means if his object had been what this writer supposes, that of social reform, and if he were faced by our modern conditions. There is, however, little ground for thinking that such was Jesus' mission. The picture that we get here is far too much coloured by the desires of the composer, and contains far too little reference to the facts. The view of Christianity is quite external if it is conceived as a political organisation for the purpose of social equalisation: and to say, that if Jesus lived to-day he would be a politician, is to confess that one has entirely failed to understand him as a religious genius, a prophet, and a saint.

The Socialist Movements of the Nineteenth Century and of To-day in their Attitude towards Jesus.

In almost every European country, alongside of these Christian and Idealistic efforts, there soon arose a materialistic and economic Socialism, which, with a gospel of "science" and class war, quickly swept aside the gospel of love, and regarded Jesus with much the same hatred that it did the Church and historical Christianity, towards which it manifested the same prejudices and the same unscientific hostility as did many of the writers of the eighteenth century. Characteristic of this tendency is the "revised" translation by Liebknecht of the communistic romance, *The True History of Joshua Davidson*, which we have already considered. The following example

will suffice to show the spirit in which the revision has been done:

In the Original.	*Liebknecht's Edition.*
It is communism.	It is communism.
Friends; the doctrine I have adopted is Christian Communism—and my aim shall be to live after the pattern of Christ in the service of mankind without distinction of person or culture. The man Jesus is my master, and after his example I will walk.	Friends, that is the doctrine I have adopted, and my effort will be to live and if necessary to die in the service of truth.

In Germany the greatest influence in this direction has been exerted by A. Bebel, who was the most passionate leader of class war, and by Kautsky, who tried to interpret Christianity from the point of view of a "scientific" Materialism and an economic theory of history. Bebel's *Frau* contains some remarkable statements concerning Jesus, who is represented as having belonged to an ascetic sect that practised self-mutilation—so grotesquely Bebel misunderstood Matt. xix. 11 ff. He pretended to show also how later Christianity helped to oppress woman. His works on *Christianity and Socialism* and *The True Nature of Christianity* give further evidence of his spirit of hostility. Kautsky, on the other hand, in his endeavour to understand the origins of Christianity regarded it, as Kalthoff did later, as a factor in the rising of the slaves and the citizens in the movements of the masses in the ancient world; and so far he had some sympathy for it. Nevertheless he felt the great superiority of the modern "scientific" movements of the people over the other-worldly enthusiast, Jesus, whose influence must of necessity disappear.

The deeper one goes the more crude is the criticism of Christianity and often also of Jesus himself. Mehring thinks that Losinsky might throw his books on the scrap-heap because they are nothing but extracts from Strauss, Renan, Buckle, Yves Guyot, and Nietzsche. Losinsky desires to help Social Democracy to create a religious view of life, for which salvation does not consist in "Back to Jesus," but "Back to Spinoza." We have no use for Jesus "because he moves entirely within the

general circle of ideas and ways of thinking common to his uneducated contemporaries," and because "his individual qualities contain not only nothing supernatural, but on the contrary a great deal 'all too human.' His outlook is narrow, being that of national egoism (Matt. x. 5 ff., xv. 21–28), and he teaches that men may be saved without reference to their moral worth. It is according to Matt. xxv. 31–46 alone that on the day of judgment only those who have done deeds of love to their neighbours will inherit the kingdom, and those who have not will go to everlasting fire."

"Everlasting fire! . . . Is that even just, let alone merciful?" The understanding with which this man, who cannot urge for his excuse bad religious instruction, read the gospels may be seen from the following passages: "Along with this must be mentioned the punishments, even to the fires of hell, that Jesus threatens merely for insults, anger, etc. There is as little forgiveness from the Christian God as from any ordinary judge: in fact, we find more of the first principles of justice and pity in the latter than in the former."

"While Christianity desires to see all men degraded to the level of beggars, Socialism strives to make all independent and rich, and thus to free them from the oppressions and necessities that are naturally bound up with poverty and beggary. . . ."

The level of criticism is still lower and more disgusting in the book of a man "who wished to aid in leading humanity from the darknesses of belief to the light of knowledge," and for this purpose courageously conceals himself under the pseudonym of "A Contemporary." The book, entitled *Darkness: The Teaching of Jesus in the Light of Critical Study*, frequently quotes Strauss and Feuerbach, and endeavours to solve all the riddles of the universe by an appeal to reason and the theory of knowledge. His chief contention is that the fundamental propositions of the teaching of Jesus should be rejected entirely, such, for example, as that there is a God, that God is our Father, and that He is perfect; that God is love, and that He is the Creator. Only men who are "mean" in spirit believe in God. Those who are

enlightened smile not only at the idea of the devil, but also at that of ethical values. They know that "nothing is holy, nothing is evil"; that there is neither sin nor salvation.

In addition to the rejection of these "fundamental errors" in Christianity, this critic has much to object against the person of Jesus. According to his exposition, Jesus was not merely "stupid and full of boundless confusion," but even brutal and proud. The story of the woman who was a sinner is criticised as follows: "She probably wished to escape from the recognised punishment for her sins, for she could have gone otherwise to the lawful priests to seek forgiveness of her sins; but it is quite possible that these had refused her absolution, on account of her repeated lapses into sin. So she came and practised all sorts of arts upon Jesus that in the highest degree flattered his self-love. She washed his feet with tears, dried them with her hair, kissed his feet and anointed them. It is difficult to imagine how this happened. That Jesus in full earnest should suffer himself to be practised upon by such poses without checking them leads us to conclude that he was seriously deficient in his moral outlook. To accept marks of honour, and even homage, shown on account of some service, cannot be gainsaid; but it is indeed possible to see when such things are carried too far. An external personal worship, against which a rational man would strive with all his might, is bestowed upon Jesus, and this must be regarded as all the more surprising in that he teaches the vanity of everything earthly. Jesus did not stop at simply being pleased with this worship, he forgave the woman her sins, and this without taking any more notice of her disposition. It was enough that by this worship she manifested this love to him. . . . The most ludicrous and annoying fact about the conduct of Jesus on this occasion was that he was not surprised into making this judgment in any measure unwittingly by the worship of the woman, but as the basis of his judgment, referred expressly to the desired satisfaction of his pride by the worship of his person. Thus and thus she has done to me, he said to Simon, but of all this ye have done nothing—how could I do otherwise?" The gross and very

common misunderstanding of the remark of Jesus concerning the woman's love is here very clumsily used.

Still more remarkable is his commentary on the parable of the Prodigal Son: "Our sympathy is entirely on the side of the older son. He had truly no cause to be merry that his brother had returned home as a profligate and had brought shame upon the whole family. If the younger brother had lost his possessions through misfortune or illness, through being robbed or through wrong speculation, then from the ethical point of view the matter would have been quite different. But he had wasted it in luxury and riotous living. There may be joy in heaven over such a reveller who repents when he hopes to gain some advantage for himself, and the angels may sing songs of gladness on his account; but we are upon earth, and before all things we desire justice, justice for all men. The treatment that the father bestows upon the younger son involves serious injustice to the older son. The end does not justify the means. Acts of beneficence and of sympathy are to be rejected as soon as they in any way lead to injustice towards others.

"We have no knowledge of what became of the younger son afterwards. If the property that was left was once more divided amongst the two sons, it is highly probable that the younger son laughed to himself and went away once more to dissipate his portion."

Jesus certainly desired to help the poor and the wretched, thinks our "Contemporary," but circumstances and his defective equipment prevented him from finding "the way of a rational social reform." So he did another thing: he comforted the poor from heaven. That was his crime; for by that he has robbed the poorest of the very effort to better their conditions.

"All can enter heaven: the unjust, thieves, murderers, and all such, if they only believe and repent. Only one, he who does not believe, remains outside. If there were nothing else, how willingly would the unbeliever let the matter rest so; for he is by no means so eager for the society of pardoned sinners in heaven. But that is not all: he must also be burnt on earth; and this

burning of his body is done as a good deed to him, to save his soul. That is what the wisdom of the Galilean has led us to.

"Humanity! Humanity! cover thy face and moan, moan over the unhappy human race that in its early ages knew thee so truly through its men of wisdom, but now, blinded by an inconceivable delusion, hath left thee."

It would be a complete loss of time to refute this account. We have quoted it so extensively in order to bring to light one example of the underground literature of hate that is to be found to-day. Its most prominent constituents can be easily perceived: a coarse materialism, a boast of reason, the "following of nature," and the glorification of an external idea of justice. Along with these traits there are continual demands made upon others. The non-commissioned officers in the ranks of the masses are perhaps the greatest obstacle to beneficial development, because they know how to delude the workers into imagined yet unintelligible self-righteousness, and thus to shut them off from all better influence.

In France the effort of Lamennais failed, and social movements developed mostly outside the pale of the Church, and with little thought of Jesus. One independent thinker who considered the person and teaching of Jesus in this connection must be mentioned —Proudhon. He was preparing his Life of Jesus at the time when Renan's *Life of Jesus* appeared. In consequence of the publication of the latter, Proudhon's book was never finished, and only published, in the form of notes, after his death. Proudhon was one of the leading Socialistic thinkers in France in the nineteenth century. Social problems were his chief, almost sole concern, and it was from their point of view that he wrote of Jesus. Though in no sense a theologian, either by training or careful personal study, his work is valuable for a certain sharpening of the issues and for an acute criticism.

Proudhon would force us to a decision whether we are going to accept the ecclesiastical doctrine of Jesus as transcendently God, or the view that he was simply a man amongst men. The way in which we decide colours all our interpretations. To one

who accepts the former, the doctrines of the Church need present no difficulty. "All the discourses, all the acts, attributed to Jesus, change their character completely according as we admit that Jesus speaks as God, or as we see in him a simple man. That is what M. Renan has neither felt nor seen." Let us quote an example to show the distinction and its consequences. "Jesus, as God, can say that he will destroy the temple; that he will create another; that he will bring sacrifice to an end, etc.; Jesus, as man, is a blasphemer, an impostor in speaking in such a manner. Jesus, as God, has the right to forgive sins. Jesus, as man, cannot be allowed such language; it is a thousand times worse than the affectation of power; it is the affectation of divinity." The attitude of Proudhon can be distinctly seen. He felt the matter keenly, and rightly so. The advocates of so-called orthodoxy should present their interpretation of Christianity in a more careful and less repellent manner. When we pause to think of the absurdities given as accounts of Christianity from the average pulpit, by men who have passed through universities and theological colleges, we have some sympathy with Proudhon, even though we should have expressed ourselves differently. But then he goes on: "Here certainly we have nothing but roguery. To deceive men, to urge them to revolt, to lead them to superstition, to ruin; to call himself God, and then, at the moment when justice was about to be satisfied by a just expiation, to allege that it has all happened for the salvation of the world, that is a depth of satanic conduct, the idea of which could only come to a Jewish fanatic. If any one should say to me, 'I will die for thee, if thou wilt worship me,' if I was not sure he was mad, I should spit in his face." No discussion is required to see that Proudhon has not studied the documents, that he has, in fact, done no research or serious work at the question, and at the date when this was written he hardly could have done so. Nevertheless the spirit of the man is evident, as also is the revolt that can be roused by the orthodox position, hiding as it does the real personality of Jesus for a mystical conception.

"Since the Revolution, Jesus has been no longer understood,

at least in France. . . . The miracles cause laughter, and the rest is alien. As to the morality, the hearts of men no longer feel it." So Proudhon attempted to present a view of Jesus and his teaching that supports the social movement he himself advocated. According to him there are three ways of explaining the Jesus of the gospels. We may take him as the Messiah, as the Son of God; against this view the philosophical objections are fatal. We may take him as a simple man, somewhat of an idealist, but ambitious and an impostor. Finally, he may have been "a moralist astray in unfavourable circumstances, who, overwhelmed by events, is compromised in popular superstition, and after being devoted to an excellent cause, dies for an absurd idea." The last view is the one that predominates in Proudhon's work; but he is not consistent. He did not perceive that, when the sources are carefully examined, and the influences that were at work in their growth have been taken into account, there is at least one other view: Jesus may have been, as we believe he was, a good man, a religious genius, largely misunderstood by his own and the following ages, who died for the cause for which he had lived; and died through the opposition of the priests and others who felt that his ascendency would mean the loss of their power. Proudhon did not allow sufficiently for the growth of legend around the life. He also made the unwarranted statement that Jesus was opposed to messianic ideas and only used the term Christ metaphorically.

Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; he had four brothers, and worked with his father as a carpenter. He held that true revolution is morally and economically determined. "Everything is to be regenerated by the moral law. He preaches in consequence as his only doctrine, love or charity, unselfishness, simplicity of heart, frugality of life, patience, chastity, modesty, work, etc. That is the way, the only way, he said, in which we shall find the world intelligible." Proudhon saw that Jesus took no part in political action, and taught no specific political doctrines. He abstained from all political theory. If he lived now he would speak neither of nationality nor of democracy, neither of theocracy nor of monarchy. He would follow in this sphere the same

principle as always, "Be just, and make the best organisation your hearts suggest to you." He "stood up against the rich, the powerful, and the voluptuous, against Pharisaism and hypocrisy, against the pride and superficiality of the scholars and the tyranny of the priests." He made appeal to conscience, and it was a "socialistic rising that he provoked."

"The aim of Jesus was pre-eminently that of Socialism and justice; his Kingdom of Heaven is the reign of justice; his Messianism, the reign of right, the emancipation of slaves, the amelioration of the lot of the poor; his religion, a religion freed from empty practices and vain beliefs; his theology, almost deism; his heavenly Father, the universal human conscience."

What do we learn of the teaching of Jesus from such an account? Surely very little. What was his idea of justice, or of Socialism? Did he indeed have any conception of what we mean by these things? Did he not, in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, and in his teaching that God lets his sun shine upon the good and the evil, and in many other ways, lead us to an idea, a reality greater and deeper than that of justice—that of love? As to the positive elements in the religion of Jesus we get nothing in this account by Proudhon. One thing is certain: the God of Jesus, his Father and our Father, was the essential fact in his religion, and this was far other than "the universal human conscience."

We join with Proudhon in much of his criticism of ecclesiastical dogma, but we think he is quite wrong when he says that Jesus' character was weak; that he allowed himself to be dragged into the movement that he had started; and that he had neither the prudence nor the power to oppose this movement. The worst developments of ecclesiastical doctrines took place after his death: the weakness of his disciples and the intellectual conditions of their time are to blame for them, as Proudhon himself almost admits: "This man was too high; he went too quickly and too far; he dug too much in advance and too deeply to be understood, followed, and not to be broken up at the outset. Jesus saw his work destroyed in his person."

In England the impression has been made on many minds that Socialism is anti-religious. This is due, perhaps, mostly to Robert Blatchford, the editor of the leading Socialist organ, the *Clarion*, than whom no English writer has had a greater share in the propagation of Socialism. This versatile and clever writer published, at first in the form of articles, a book entitled *God and My Neighbour*, in which he brought together against the Christianity of the creeds those general arguments which, since the eighteenth century and earlier, have never failed to find a champion. Man has no "free will," and therefore no real responsibility, and so cannot sin: he is a creature entirely of heredity and environment. "God" is a fiction: or at least we can know nothing of Him if He exist. There were ethical teachings as pure, even better, amongst orientals long before Jesus lived. In turning men's minds for consolation to an "other" world, the teachers of Christianity have kept them from participation and enjoyment of the actual values of this life. Religion has been as much a cause of strife and evil in history as of peace and good.

The same writer, in a pamphlet, *Altruism: Christ's glorious Gospel of Love against Man's dismal Science of Greed* (1898), states with a dogmatism which is part of his charm, that the success of socialistic efforts depends on "men of religion." The religion he is thinking of is a religion of humanity, a love for men. "Altruism" is the "embodiment of the command, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,'" and "seems to have *originated* (italics ours) in the teaching of Christ." "Nearly all the monopolies, privileges, and injustices under which we suffer are directly traceable to the greed or dishonesty of a rapacious few." "We are told that this Gospel of Altruism is identical with the Gospel of Christ, and that this gospel has been preached for eighteen centuries to deaf ears and obdurate hearts. It is a beautiful gospel, say our practical friends, but it is futile. After eighteen centuries of pious iteration, nothing has come of it.

"*Has* nothing come of it? But almost every noble action and sweet personality in all those centuries has come of it. A

very great deal of our progress has come of it. All the mercy and patience we have in the present, and all the hope we have in the future, have come of it. And let the day of Socialism be near or far, when that day arrives, Socialism also will have come of it.

"Moreover, let us remember that the very fact that this gospel of love has lived for eighteen centuries, against long odds and bitter opposition, is a proof of its vitality and of its truth." When we read such words we cannot but credit the claim that this valiant fighter and supremely honest man makes, that his attack on the Church and its doctrines is because he finds them in the way of advance. His true spirit, however, has thus been hidden, and ground given for much misrepresentation.

With reference to much of this criticism of Christianity, Woltmann saw rightly that, as: "Volmar says, not without reason, the effort to bring enlightenment in matters religious is often carried on by his party confrères in an awkward and ludicrous manner. The chief cause of this is that the greater part of the Socialist protagonists have not yet learnt to distinguish between religion and the church, and that as far as the inner nature of religion is concerned they are swayed by one-sided theories. Often enough ecclesiastical opponents are crushed in such discussions; but it is not seldom that the scholar makes the Socialist look absurd even to his own comrades. The view that religion is merely priestly deception, or an error of the understanding that may be overcome once for all by some spectres of historical enlightenment, is still held by some Socialists. As the matter of first importance is the nature of Christianity, it would be easy for an enlightened and careful disputant to slay his ecclesiastical opponents with their own weapons. Yet what do the majority of Socialistic leaders know of Christianity? Who is there who reads his Bible to-day? At most some few people read something about the Bible. Obsolete radical books, whose authors have been brought into popular favour again in Germany through the historical imagination of Bruno Bauer, and in England by the cheap reprints of the Rationalist Press, give us

fables concerning the origin of Christianity which are worse than the traditional ones."

Nevertheless there is an uncommonly close similarity of ideas in Christianity and Socialism. The different types of Christian Socialism that have originated in England and Germany, and have a more or less definite programme, are well known. The open conversion of many clergymen to Socialism, and their contention that the social spirit of Christianity leads to Socialistic demands, is without doubt of great significance for public opinion.

The Social Democrats of to-day like to boast of the scientific bases of their theories; but if they would inaugurate a new view of life, they must be at the same time the bearers of religious sentiment. The demand, taken over from the Liberals, to separate Church and State, and to accord complete freedom with regard to preaching, might be supported; but if the masses are not to lose their enthusiasm and good feeling, they must share inwardly in religion; they must come to a better understanding of religion and history, and especially of the fundamental principles of Christianity. When the Socialists, who otherwise will hear nothing of morality and religion, become warm and enthusiastic, they themselves become the bearers of ethical and religious ideas. "Do we not possess that in which the power of religion consists—faith in the highest ideals? Does not Socialism involve the highest morality, self-forgetfulness, sacrifice, human love?" Thus a leader of the Socialists spoke on one of their Party-days. However, this "Religion of Humanity" needs a deeper foundation, logical connection with the principle of a general view of the world; it needs to be in harmony with a "Religion of Nature." Faith in the triumph of ideas and the conviction of the power of the good require a conception of the world and of history that is not mechanical and materialistic, but idealistic: a spiritualism in which religion has a place and a value.

Social Democracy is undergoing a crisis: at present this is true only with regard to the theoretical and practical questions

of economic conditions. It will not be long before its "view of life," especially with regard to the things of the spirit, will have to undergo a revision. In the long run the masses cannot be satisfied with a cold programme of science and politics. The metaphysical need may for a time be suppressed, but it cannot be permanently rooted out. The social movement may come to look upon itself as the heir of classical German philosophy, and it may accept the religious ideas of that Son of Man who once went forth from Nazareth to win a spiritual world. The best representatives of humanity who have come after him have lit the torch of their hearts at the fire of his genius who said, "I am come that they may have more abundant life."

With the intention of writing a life of Jesus, Woltmann made a "pilgrimage to Palestine." In the pamphlet in which he describes this pilgrimage he represents Jesus in glowing terms as a pantheist, the forerunner of Darwin, and the preacher of a social morality. The passages that we quote later from the artisans and others that may often be heard in conferences, show again and again that many think as he does. Among the leaders in Germany there are indeed only a few, most of whom were once theological students, who hold these ideas, such, for example, as Carring, Gohre, Blumhardt. Gohre had to fight for the mere toleration of his views. Many have followed his newest move of formally separating from the Church; but what does he do for those in different towns who have done this? Nowhere is there evidence of a new and powerful revival of religious life among them. Though thousands of Socialist workers have not cut the band that binds them to the religion of their childhood, no great progress can be made till the leaders are really won over to religion.

The Convictions of some Artisans.

We get nearer to the actual views of the workers themselves in the *Report of the Ninth Evangelical Social Congress* held at Berlin in 1898. Rade had circulated questions to workers

living in all parts of Germany and Switzerland. These included men whose occupations were those of cigar-maker, lithographer, tailor, printer, compositor, potter, machine-builder, locksmith, warehouseman, a worker in a shipbuilder's yard, a polisher in a boot factory, and a carver.

There is one who, thanks to the efforts of the Social Democrats, has been reached by Bruno Bauer's criticism. He recommends Bruno Bauer's and Kalthoff's writings as the final statement with regard to Christianity. "Christ is an ideal figure; for, who can prove that he ever lived?"

Another who has heard something that brought Jesus into relation with Eastern religions says, "Jesus was a disciple of Zoroaster and Confucius."

The majority of answers were, indeed, different from these: in them Jesus was represented as a man who fought for the poor, the miserable, and the oppressed. The views of the Liberals, the ideas of Strauss and particularly of Renan, were transferred by these men into the Socialistic world of ideas. "The Christ reverenced to-day by the Christian Church is not in harmony with historical fact. Christ was a wandering preacher, one of many in the East in those times. His personal courage and the way in which he sought to reform the conditions of the Jews, deserve recognition. I consider him to have been one of the most remarkable men of his time."—To another he was "a noble man, who stood on the side of the oppressed"; while a third says, "a true friend of workers, not merely with his mouth, as his followers have been and are, but in deed also. He was hated and persecuted just as much as the Socialists of to-day, to whom if he had lived in our time he would have belonged." A fourth says: "He might have been a very good Socialist if he—were born now"; a fifth: "To-day he would certainly be a Socialist, probably even a leader and a Member of Parliament." And another similarly: "Up to the present time the teaching of Christ has never been realised; yet if humanity would only act in accordance with it, all our social questions would be settled at one stroke." "Christ was a man who, in opposition to the Pharisees and priests of that time,

who robbed the people and revelled in wealth while others lacked the necessities of life, taught the truth and wished to rouse the people from their indolence. Persecuted by his opponents, he had to pay for his audacity with his life. Everything more than that is simply the glorification of his person by his followers."

In the answers of some of these workers we find opposition to all religion, even to the religion of Jesus, going along with the recognition of his morality. "He was a very honest and good man, just a little too fantastic." "I should hold him, if he really lived, for an ideal man; but then ideal men are unfortunately somewhat unpractical."

Another plays off ecclesiastical Christianity against Jesus: "Since Christ has been exalted to the position of God, he has been drawn supernaturally away from men, and the value that he would otherwise have had as an ideal has been lost." The argument of this man is acute. It is, as a fact, impossible to treat the ecclesiastical Christ as an ethical ideal. If Jesus was not merely man, his conduct was always something other than human, and as such he cannot have left behind him any real type for us, that we might realise as he did.

Others acknowledge his religion and have appropriated its essence: "Christ was the greatest, the purest man who has yet lived. He was the initiator of a great reform. His history is very much overgrown with legends. I am of opinion that he was conceived as every other man. He derived his great spiritual power from his absolute faith in his heavenly Father. But to consider him as the Son of God and to treat him as God, I hold to be wrong. In prayer I can always turn to our heavenly Father, but not to Christ."

"I believe in him without having written proofs. After saying that I might be silent," says another, "but you wish to know what I truly think, and though it is difficult to me I must ask, Is Jesus in any real sense the Son of God? Of God? Who is God? What is God? Why cannot I give an answer to the questions which trouble me so? Is it because I have reflected so little over them, have had so little opportunity to express myself,

because my life is taken up entirely by work? I call myself a Christian, I have children and I allow them to be brought up in prayer and in the Christian faith. My wife has deep religious needs and feelings, I alone am uncertain and in doubt. The realisation of his teaching would mean peace on earth."

How entirely different from the traditional interpretation are the ideas of a worker who accepts the old dogmas of Christ, may be seen from the following: "What is the truth about the mysterious birth of Christ I have not yet had time to consider, but it seems to me to be a secondary matter. I think of him as he showed himself in his life, as he helped the poor, healed the sick, declared to the rich the unvarnished truth, and did not waver or hesitate before the proud party of the Pharisees. I think, in particular, of how he always remained the same in his teaching, in conflicts and in suffering, in spite of temptations and persecutions, even to the last great struggle in his death on the cross. I think of how he directed his gaze courageously and persistently to the highest, and how magnanimously he pardoned the failings of others. And when I think of his faith in everything, even unto death, I must at last confess, Christ was very God of very God."

Again and again in reading such words we get the feeling to which Harnack gave expression when Rade read these and many others at the Congress: "We have all listened attentively to the words of our lecturer, and the time has not seemed long. We have heard something of the beliefs of a third of the nation concerning the highest questions of life. The strongest impression that must have been left with us must be that to which the lecturer has himself in his conclusion given so powerful an expression, concerning the amount of honest effort, the intensity of the spiritual conflict, the life there is in these circles. . . . We have learned that many of those who do not live in comfort occupy themselves with spiritual matters, and that the many to whom circumstances do not make it so easy as for the youth of the educated and wealthy classes, are more sincere and more alive to these ideals, and find more in them than do the latter."

There is, it is true, little originality in the conception of the Jesus of the artisans, but what is noteworthy is the freshness and the power these men express. So far as the ecclesiastical influence has ceased, the influence of Socialism and popular criticism of traditional doctrine can be clearly seen. In the interest of class war the leaders of the masses have appropriated the popular representations of science, and have applied them critically to tradition in the realm of religion, as in all other spheres of life.

The Christian Socialism of the Present Time.

The Christian social movement has, as a rule, not been traced back to Jesus himself. In its orthodox form, even now, as in its earlier days, more value is placed upon the ecclesiastical doctrine of Jesus than upon Jesus himself. Social endeavour is carried on as a work of love in the general Christian spirit. The influence of the social conception of Jesus has been much stronger in the circles represented at the "Evangelical Social Congress" (held since 1890), which has worked at the problem most zealously. In Germany the leading part in this movement was taken by Friedrich Naumann in his first period. Around him and his Jesus once gathered all that was young and vigorous in German Christian Socialism. He of all in this group has given us the most glowing account of Jesus. Let us reproduce some words from a small booklet of his in which he described "Jesus as a man of the people." When this booklet appeared in 1894, Naumann still stood on the right wing in theology; but even then Jesus was for him something different from what he was represented to be by tradition: "Jesus Christ was and is the greatest man of the people. Others may describe him as the eternal Son of God, as the coming judge of the world, as the sin-offering for the sins of the world, my heart says to this: Everything, all that ye say of him is right; all that is my belief also; but ye are silent of that upon which I depend with every fibre of my soul, ye are silent concerning the man, whom it is impossible to forget, who among the people fought for the people."

Naumann never meant that Jesus was a social reformer and nothing but that: "Jesus was not a political economist: he knew no statistics; he did not think of laws, and had no share in politics; but for what was intolerable with regard to morality he had the most open eyes that have ever been known. To his delicate and deep feeling, the existence side by side of super-abundance and of want was unendurable. That upon which thousands now look daily undisturbed, ostentation and revelry, poverty and hunger, in the same streets, troubled the soul of Jesus. Had it not troubled him, he would not continually have spoken of rich and poor; he would not have brought together in one eternal picture the man clothed in purple and the man full of sores.

"If we wish to represent Jesus correctly, we must not place him among colonnades and near altars, but among small cottages and on the side of country ways. Jesus was not condescending in the ordinary sense of the word, but he was poor, simple, unassuming, like those for whom he lived. Who can contemplate with indifference the consumption in our barracks of labour, the infant mortality in our industrial centres, if he feels but one breath from the great soul of Jesus? Do you think that Jesus would have remained calm if he had heard that thousands of school children have no dinner? He would have said, as he said in the wilderness: Give ye them to eat! Oh that there were more active benevolence in our life to-day! In this century of continuous talking we sigh for men of action. From the schools of the philosophers we cannot expect them. We must hope for them from the circle of the true disciples of the Nazarene."

The greatest requirements of Jesus should be put into practice, even those sayings that appear to revolutionise the whole of our social organisation, such as Matt. v. 42: "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away." "To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and from him that taketh away thy cloak, withhold not thy coat also" (Luke vi. 29). "If ye lend to them of

whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? Even sinners lend to sinners to receive as much again." These sayings should be fulfilled, if not with slavish adherence to the letter, yet according to the spirit that is expressed in them; and this not by indiscriminate almsgiving or trusting to the help of something miraculous, but by social endeavour conscious of its aim. Here we get a slight suggestion of the criticism of traditional dogma and of the works of Jesus himself, as it is to be found in Naumann's later writings. At this time he was keen only against the official Church and State. He asks: "What would Jesus experience if he came to-day? Do you suppose that he would be allowed to say everything he felt in his heart? I think he would suffer great afflictions: and one day he would sit in prison amongst his brothers. My Lord Jesus! Men call thee 'Lord' because they think thou hast been already long dead, but if thou wouldst come forth to-day in Berlin or Frankfort, or elsewhere, who knows whether they would not say again, 'This tempter!'" How at a later time Naumann abandoned the attitude indicated by these warm words, we shall see in our next chapter.

One effect of the sincere opposition of leaders in the Social movement to the Churches has been to lead Christian Socialists of the last few years to be more definite than formerly in their acceptance of the ethical and economic principles of Socialism. Many, if not most, see in specific economic demands the requirement of the Socialistic and the Christian ethic. It is contended that if Socialism and Christianity are ideal, and impossible of attainment (as is often said by opponents) under prevailing conditions, it is not Christianity and Socialism that have to be abandoned, but the conditions changed. The number of Christian Socialists has increased immensely, and there are now organised societies in all the chief European countries. We can only give a few references in order to show the attitude taken by these societies.

The greatest of modern social evils is the existence of extremes of poverty and wealth, such as has never been known before in the history of the world. These extremes are detrimental to the physical, moral, and spiritual welfare of rich as well as of poor.

The miracles of healing and the parables of Jesus show that he willed physical as well as spiritual welfare. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus the rich man was in hell, "not simply because he was rich, for Christ said it was possible though difficult for a rich man to enter his society. No, the rich man was in hell simply because he allowed the contrast between rich and poor to go on as a matter of course, day after day, without taking any kind of pains to put a stop to it." The degrading effects on character of these conditions have been the chief reason why so many men in our day have become advocates of Socialism with its State control of wealth. These effects are brought about by disobedience to the precepts of Jesus. Dr. Scott Holland at St. Paul's Cathedral, preaching to the Federation of Working Men's Clubs, thus described how both extremes ruin character. "Wealth—Luxury—these are its destruction. For they relieve the man from all necessity of making a choice. He can do just what he likes. He can float and drift, from aimless day to aimless night, without making one effort, without any moral purpose. He can simply live to pamper his own whims. The man of luxury loafs along. There is nothing to compel decision. And, as a mere loafer, his manhood spoils, and withers, and dies. He never has to act or work. Life is for him, therefore, a meaningless vacancy. . . . No character is formed.

"At the other end there is that poor, broken, shiftless crowd, the wreckage and wastage of our cruel cities, unskilled, floating, flung to and fro on the loose tides of trade, with no settled footing, no regular occupation, from hand to mouth, from day to day, drifting, loafing, in aimless waste. Such a life never has a standing ground from which it can make an act of positive choice. It cannot look before and after. It has no power to determine its own career. Poverty eats into the inner man, and destroys the capacity for self-direction. And without acts of choice, without the power of self-direction, there can be no character. That is why the true workman dreads like poison, dreads like death, the terror of being 'out of work.' To be unemployed is to suffer damage to character. The man can feel himself sinking,

sinking lower and lower in self-respect, horribly sinking in moral force, just because he has no stable footing and has no future to shape: no power of choice, no hold over his own life. He has lost his aim, his purpose; he has become of no account. And the very fact of having no worth in men's eyes tends to make him worthless. He feels himself degenerating, and cannot help it. If he goes on long being unemployed he will become unemployable. And, then, all will be over. He will have to drop to the level of the wastrel; beaten down by the force of miserable circumstance. And it is because of this disastrous peril that it becomes a matter of public responsibility, of national well-being, to see to it that the true workman in a time of depression is saved from this fatal lapse." Not a mere selfish desire for a larger share in the material goods of the world, but a care for personal character, for the dignity and self-respect of the individual, that is the spirit of the Socialism which is inspired by the teaching of Jesus.

Jesus did not say, as he is often supposed to have done, "The poor ye *shall* have always with you," but "The poor ye have always with you." Here, according to the writer above quoted, Jesus was looking back on the history of his nation and on the then prevailing conditions, and noted that poverty persisted. "A Christian is bound to cut right away at the root of that evil which is the main cause of poverty, and which prevents men from living full lives in this world," and that root is individualism. One writer enters the field of actual politics and says that the obtaining possession of the land by the State "is the main plank in the platform of the Christian Socialist." Such a statement shows the change that has taken place since the time of Kingsley and Maurice. Men are leaving mere pious recognitions of the social implication of the teaching of Jesus, and proceeding to the elaboration of an economic policy. The physical and social environment have to be made suitable and conducive to a Christian life for all. The doctrine of brotherhood taught by Jesus must be a principle that is vital and active: "vague theories of brotherhood do not satisfy."

Another change has also come about. While many still cling

to the traditional dogma of the Incarnation as the basis of their social teaching and work, there is an increasing tendency to point to the historic Jesus. "He came," says Percy Dearmer, "as a working man. He worked at his own trade till he was thirty: and then, choosing other working men as his companions he tramped about the country as one that had not where to lay his head, doing innumerable secular works, beside preaching spiritual regeneration; and blessing the poor, while he condemned the rich and denounced the proud teachers and leaders of the national religion, and after three years he was executed by the law of the land, because he preached revolutionary doctrines, which the common people 'heard gladly,' but which were detested by the religious authorities of the day." The influence and appeal of Jesus in this connection extends far and wide: he is a centre around which the social movements in the different countries may unite to the benefit of international peace. A writer in *Christianity and the Working Classes* relates "how, in that fortress of progress which the Socialist workmen of Belgium have built in Brussels, the Maison du Peuple, as you pass from one part to another of that hive of many activities, you may happen to go into an upper lecture hall, and note across the end of the platform a great curtain hanging. It is drawn reverently aside, and one sees a fresco of the form of Christ, with hand uplifted pointing the way above. It is surely deeply significant of the vital power of his message, and of the way he wins men still to follow him, that while thoughtful people have revolted from the economic system of what is called a Christian State, and from the superstition and lack of freedom which they associate with religion, they turn in spite of all to him as to a leader, thinking of him as Jesus, the Christ, the first Socialist." The same thing is true also of America. "The talk of the Churches," says Peabody, "is for the most part as unintelligible as Hebrew to the modern hand-worker; but in the teaching of Jesus he seems to hear the welcome accents of a familiar tongue."

Movements in France towards a Christian Socialism have not been very successful. It may be said that they scarcely exist among the Protestants; in fact, compared with those who profess Catholi-

cism and those who call themselves free-thinkers, Protestants are few. Perhaps, in view of the alliance of Church and State in the past in France, it is natural that the rank and file, as well as the leaders in the French social movements, should look upon religious organisations as opposed to freedom of thought and action in the political field. They think but of the Catholic Church and the submission that it demands. The spirit of French life during the century has been and is still very different from that in England. The root idea of the French Revolution and of the political efforts since has been essentially individualistic and *bourgeois*. The predominant policy has been to protect the liberty of the individual on a basis of equality; it has not been socially constructive. Absorbed in the needs and guided by the principles of their own class, the French *bourgeoisie* have done little on behalf of the poorer classes of workers. The latter, suffering from the conditions that the stress of industrial life has forced upon them, have developed a belief and social creed in which class war is only too often the central idea. In England the Christian Social movement which arose among the middle classes has to a small degree permeated the masses. In France this has been much less so.

Social movements with a religious basis have in France nearly always arisen among Catholics. One such movement, which at first was looked upon with favour by the ecclesiastical authorities, has now for long been under their ban. Like the earlier Christian Socialist movements elsewhere, it is based not chiefly upon the feeling of brotherhood with the human Jesus, but upon the idea of a common membership in a mystical Christ. "Le Sillon," as the movement is called, is described as "a life," a "unifying movement," a "friendship." It is "the effort of one generation towards democracy under the brotherly impulse of the love of Christ." It would "put to the service of French democracy the social forces that we find in Catholicism." For force is necessary, and the force "for us is the social force of Catholicism." "Christ is at one and the same time the highest and the largest expression of the general interest, and of the most intimate and the most

personal interest, since we approach through him, who is Justice, Goodness, and Beauty—universal and absolute—and we possess him in eternity, only in the same measure in which we work for the good of all, and in which we shall have loved him in each of our brothers." Feeling and thinking so, they survey the struggling sections of society—its actualities and its ideals—capitalism and striving democracy. "We feel that the capitalist régime . . . is not eternal. . . . Democracy, above all, appears to be a Christian dream, postulating for its realisation the Christ who . . . alone is able to identify the individual welfare of each with the common good of all." "More and more we begin to see in democracy that social organisation that tends to bring to the majority the conscience and the civic responsibility of each."

While denying the intention of militant political warfare, one of the leaders of the Sillon has founded a daily paper, *La Democratie*, public meetings and debates have been held, and study circles formed. The essential purpose is "to cultivate a true democratic spirit"—not simply for the ideas themselves, but for "material realisation." The members of the Sillon would constitute a "dynamic majority" and gain power. Their aim is no mere theory, but an essentially active movement. "Our preferences are for the literature of action, for every effort to bring together art and life, for every work born from sincere emotion or a moral idea rather than for a narrow conception of art for art's sake." Such a movement cannot but be a force of inspiration for those who come into personal contact with it; but it is vague in its conception. In starting out from the mysticism of the traditional dogma of Christ, it does not come close enough in spirit to the humanity of Jesus, and the actual problems with which he so concretely dealt. The age calls for something more concrete in the statement of ideals, and as the basis of its principles: it was a more concrete gospel that Jesus taught. Ultimately, however, the fundamental principle of the Sillon is that of Jesus: "We believe that the social question is, not entirely, but in great measure, a moral and religious question, and we wish to study it in this spirit, opposing injustice, violence,

utopism, with the positive ideal of justice and love that the gospel brings to social life."

One other movement in France towards Christian Socialism is associated with the name of Paul Passy. Far more definite and advanced than the Sillon, it resembles the more Socialistic section of Christian Socialists in England. "Christianity," we read in a pamphlet entitled *Le Christianisme, Réligion Sociale*, "is the social doctrine which would establish in this world universal brotherhood. It should lead to peace, to general well-being and happiness; suppress misery and wickedness; put an end to all oppressions; bring equality and freedom to men and make them brothers." All the present social movements are said to tend in this direction: Socialists with their "society of the future," the Anarchists with their "city of the future," the Democrats with the reign of democracy, the Christian Socialists with their Kingdom of God: the name alone is different. All were born from the gospel. "The enemy of modern society is wealth—money. The churches themselves are at the service of these things because they have need of them to live." Evil, injustice, inequality, exist through riches. Christ lived and died poor, his doctrines and example were simple and democratic. "Sell your goods and give your riches to the poor." "If people refuse to believe that the 'Kingdom of Love' will one day come upon earth, and if it is relegated to heaven, it is because they refuse to make the sacrifice necessary for its establishment here and now." The collectivism and communism of the first chapters of the Acts of the Apostles are taken as a proof that such a view of Socialism may be realised. Internationalism, anti-militarism, are ultimately due to Christianity, but they have grown up only under Socialism. The churches and their dogmas are obstacles because they fasten the living spirit of Christianity in rigid forms. So these men call: "Let us return to the time of the primitive church! Let us break the religious hierarchy! Let us constitute a free clergy, in which the ministry will be exercised by the most virtuous and by the old! Let us establish a free church, encircling not one province or one nation, but the entire earth!

Then will come that of which Marx, Lamennais, Proudhon, and so many others have dreamed; that which the people have asked and hoped for during so many centuries!"

What Aims and Means does Jesus point out for the Solution of the Social Problem?

If we desire an answer from Jesus to the social question of our day, we must pay attention to three things that counsel us to the greatest carefulness in our consideration of the matter. In the first place, we are setting Jesus in modern circumstances quite foreign to him, for which he could not possibly have given definite directions, any more than he could have done for the construction of aeroplanes or electric machines. Secondly, we are thinking of him in quite a different climate. The coldness of our climate makes far greater care for dwelling, clothing, cleanliness and even food, necessary, than did the southern climate and the oriental environment in which Jesus lived. There, as Renan so beautifully describes it, one may sleep wrapped in a cloak under the deep dark sky. A bath in the sea waves is an ample substitute for the dear bathing accommodation of our cold climate: a costly flesh diet is only moderately and then only seldom indulged in; "daily bread" need not include clothes and boots, house and land, cattle and other goods. Lastly, it must not be forgotten that Jesus believed that in a short time the end of the world would come, and in consequence of this alone, could not take up the task of social reform: his hope was on God, not on the work of man.

In spite of all these considerations it is possible to bring the needs of our own time into the light of his great and good ideas; though it would be wrong to try to make his sayings an absolute social law. To do so would be to treat them quite contrary to his intention. He did not come forward, as did the Pharisees, to develop the law of God in its individual applications; but considering the external command, he probed to the inward disposition that it implied, and thus he raised man above the

mere commandment to a predominant and abiding spirituality. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that Jesus was surrounded by, and himself experienced, the severe social needs of his people. There is scientific justification therefore for examining his sayings and deeds to see what attitude he took towards such needs, and what he had to offer for their remedy. We have merely the confusion of a narrow individualistic Liberalism when Hase can say no more about it than: "There is something for the consolation of the poor in the fact that he who could say with Mahomet, 'God gave me the keys to the riches of the world, but I desired them not,' endured poverty. A noble spirit can become strong and confident of his power in conflict with poverty: nevertheless much spiritual energy is used up to no purpose in conflict with bitter necessity." To-day no scientific presentation of the person and teaching of Jesus can pass over the great problem of the relation of his spirit to the difficulties of modern social life.

If, now, we commence to discuss the problem with the question, What do our records tell us? new difficulties arise. Even when we put the gospel of John on one side, the synoptic gospels do not give a consistent picture. The essential difference becomes most clear if we place side by side the Beatitudes as given by Matthew and by Luke. Thus in Matt. v. 3 ff. they run: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

In Luke, however, we have: "Blessed are ye poor: for yours

is the kingdom of God. Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for ye shall laugh. Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of Man's sake. Rejoice in that day and leap for joy: for, behold your reward is great in heaven: for in the same manner did their fathers unto the prophets. But woe unto you, ye that are full now! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you, ye that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets." The difference is quite clear. In Matthew the spiritual is strongly emphasised: the poor "in spirit," those that hunger "after righteousness," and so on; in Luke nearly everything is conceived socially. In Luke, Jesus speaks as though the kingdom of God shall bring a change in the economic aspects of life, in fact, a complete revolution of all things: poverty becomes wealth; wealth, poverty; while in Matthew along with comfort for those that mourn there is before all the satisfaction of the longing after God, purity, righteousness, and peace of heart. The difference pervades the gospels and is seen at one time in such passages as the Beatitudes, in which Matthew and Luke quite clearly go back to the same source—the above-mentioned original non-Marcan document—and at another time, with particular clearness, in a series of parables that are in Luke alone—for example, the parable of the rich man who was sent to Hades while the poor Lazarus was carried into Abraham's bosom; and the story of the rich man who said to his soul "Eat and drink," and in many other narratives.

Now, has Matthew or Luke given us the teaching of Jesus on this question more correctly? Was Jesus a preacher of social justice, or of religious longing and its satisfaction in the kingdom of heaven?

It can be seen that Luke came from circles which, along with religious ideals, had others that were to a certain extent communistic. The stories of the births in chaps. i. and ii., and especially the Psalms in them, which naturally do not originate

with Jesus, are entirely permeated with these views; the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles shows the same characteristics: yet the old sources used in these accounts often contradict communistic ideas (cf. Acts iv. 32 with v. 4). Further, in certain parables, as those of the poor Lazarus and of the unrighteous steward, we may distinguish clearly the old kernel, which contains a moral and religious truth, but not yet the idea of social justice. All of these things, which we cannot here establish in exhaustive detail, make it certain that the attitude of Jesus is more correctly reproduced by Matthew than by Luke, and that it was only at a later date that a tendency towards economic communism led to the change of the words of Jesus so as to suggest this meaning.

The extent of the change that was made must, however, not be overestimated. The spiritualising additions in the Beatitudes (especially "in spirit," "after righteousness") are probably just as much the creations of Matthew, as the four woes emphasising so much the external are of Luke. The compilers have strengthened the text each in his own direction. For even according to Matthew (and Mark), Jesus is an impeacher of wealth and a comforter of the poor and oppressed. This is in harmony with the condition of things in his land and among his people. In the Judaism of those days the words "poor" and "pious" had an association far closer than at any other time or in any other place: "rich" had come to signify the same as oppressor, sinner, impious, godless. Jesus and his time really knew only, on the one hand, badly used wealth, and on the other, alms, by which it was hoped to obtain reward from God and praise from men.

So Jesus with his message of the kingdom and his call to repentance found the strongest echo among the "poor." When he calls the poor blessed, they are before his eyes. He is not thinking of that brutal poverty that knows no other god, and no other desire, than that of the rich oppressor himself: Mammon.

Jesus did not come forth to help the poor as such. His path points in quite another direction. To make men the children of God; so to arouse and transform them that life according to the

spirit of God can and shall begin—that is what the prophet comes into the world for. The prophet is always met by three hindrances to his work, hindrances that at first, owing to his enthusiasm, seem to him insignificant and to be easily conquered, but they grow together more and more firmly and form a thicket of thorns and thistles through which he strives in vain to make his way. Three obstacles, yes, three enemies: sin, gold, and superficial piety.

Jesus had to fight against all these, and he carried on the conflict against each with the same energy and resolution.

Jesus hated wealth only as he hated hypocrisy. He conceived it personally as a second god, whom it was impossible that he should serve who would do the will of God. He who "serves" Mammon, he who uses his life-energy so that he might have much goods, cannot give himself and his best hours to the most important thing of all, his soul. In pursuing the material he misses the real—the eternal—and so wastes his life and loses his soul.

Mammon hardens man in selfishness. The rich man does not concern himself about God: "I will say unto my soul, Soul, soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry" (Luke xii. 19). Wealth is the satisfaction of the apathetic man. Those who are satisfied with eating drinking, sleeping, do not love such a disturber of the peace as Jesus. For such, the prophets are nothing else but fools; and the prophet thinks just the same of those who are so satisfied: he represents God as saying to the man: "Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee" (Luke xii. 20). Thou foolish one, for "whose shall be the things that thou hast prepared?" There is irony in the way that Jesus talks of these people and their great wealth, which moths and rust eat away, and thieves break through and steal. Yet behind his mockery lies a bitter truth: "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (xii. 34).

That is really the cause of what is the worst of all the effects of such great possessions: the fact that the rich man cannot make a sacrifice when the demands of the kingdom of God put him to the test. The time may come for every man when he must be

prepared to give up all, like the merchant who gave up everything for the sake of a costly pearl, like the man who in order to obtain the treasure in the ground, sold his all and purchased that field. It was in this sense, and not as the requirement of a radical asceticism or of an enthusiastic communism, that Jesus on his last journey to Jerusalem required of the rich young man, "Go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me" (Matt. xix. 21). It was from a noble soul that Jesus required this. Frankly and sincerely the young man could say: I have observed the commandments from my youth up. Even he could not make the sacrifice. If such a one, in the hour when the greatest demand comes upon him, is not able to separate himself from his wealth, how hard it is for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xix. 23). How hard it is for those to make sacrifices who "live in mirth and splendour every day" (Luke xvi. 19, marginal reading), "clothed in purple and fine linen," and look upon eating, drinking, rest, and all other pleasures as the essence and the joy of life. "For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? For whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it" (Matt. xvi. 26, 25). Wealth kills the souls of the rich.

Yes, and the souls of the poor also, through anxiety and care. Towards the poor, Jesus is much more friendly. The hardest thing that he said to them in this connection was to his poor despairing disciples: "Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek: for your heavenly Father knows that ye have need of all these things" (Matt. vi. 31). The bitter irony against the rich here gives place to good-humoured raillery. As though anxiety might do any good! What man, be as anxious as he may, can add a cubit to his stature?—Moral pathos takes the form of earnest warning: "Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." The spirit underlying all is love and trust: Look at the sparrows,—consider the ravens;—they

sow not, neither do they gather into barns; and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them! Fear not therefore! And pray: "Give us this day our daily bread."

This is not, in the first place, conceived socially, or Jesus ought to have said: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise." The conception is purely religious: Anxiety is mistrust in God; it reveals a view of God lower than the Christian view, and places a wrong emphasis upon things that should never be the chief thing in our soul. Men should be pious —that was what lay nearest to the heart of Jesus. God and his kingdom should be their whole care.

The anger of Jesus flames up most fiercely where men cloak their struggle for wealth or power with the mantle of piety. Towards this he is unrelenting, and it was in conflict against hypocrisy that he went to his death. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier things of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, and within they are full from extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first what is within the cup and the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean also" (Matt. xxiii. 23). "Beware of the scribes, which desire to walk in long robes, and love saluations in the market-places and chief seats in the synagogues, and chief places at feasts. They devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers." Truly their judgment is severe!

To Jesus the most awful thing is religion employed in the service of Mammon.

Though in our last quotation it is before all else religious anger against hypocrisy that seizes him so forcibly, that anger grew also from an inner sympathy with the robbed and oppressed, whose goods had been eaten up by avaricious hypocrites. His anger implies the commandment of love to others. As in his life and death he manifested love to his neighbours, even to his enemies, so all others should place

themselves under the great type of the good Samaritan, should, though with danger to their own life, give help where help is needed. "Give to him that asketh thee; and from him that would borrow of thee, turn thou not away." To be perfect as God is perfect; to be his sons in goodness, to let the sun of love shine upon all, the evil and the good, enemies as well as friends, that is what he teaches us to aim at. "Everything that ye would that others should do unto you, that do ye even unto them."

Is this communism? No: it is less than communism, less than the organisation of a society for the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, that cares for all and requires from all a fair share in work; and yet it is more, much more. It is a call for a revolution of the whole character, for a new organisation of humanity, starting with the individual and involving the society as a whole. Jesus did not desire the overthrow of the State or the prevalent form of society, or even the abolition of slavery: it is God's concern to inaugurate the new. The individual is called upon to make severer demands upon himself, to submit himself to an energetic self-education, and to be much more deeply conscious of his responsibility before God.

Can these general ideas of Jesus, which he applied in many practical requirements for his own time, give an answer to the needs of the present also, or are we out of touch altogether with our own conditions when we try to follow these ideas?

We can say with sufficient reason that wealth is evaluated in a much more rational manner to-day than at the time of Jesus, and that however much may be ascribed to the progressive organisation and civilisation of men, the influence of Christianity on the rich, and the love that has flowed from the heart of Jesus through all men inspired by him, have surely done most to bring about the gradual change we see beginning in the world, by which right application of wealth is becoming a source of happiness for thousands. This may be said not only with reference to the magnificent work of love and social help in and around the churches, but also in the way in which to-day life can be made

more refined and secure by means of wealth. Men can be better educated and become more spiritual when they are not continually pressed down by bitter necessity.

Nevertheless, wealth is to-day still the same danger to the soul as it was nineteen hundred years ago. Indeed, in its new form, that of Capitalism, Mammon is much more murderous than in its old mask of avarice and mere accumulation. The continued rush of capitalistic production consumes our best men as a scorching fire.

It is an almost universal cry of men in our day that they have no time to think of their souls; their danger is to let their hearts become desolate, in that they seek their recreation in those things that the rich man meant when he said to his soul, "Take thine ease, eat and drink!" Add to these things a little superficial art, some sport or hunting, and we have the life of thousands. And if it is only seldom that a prophet rises up to-day to protest and point to something better, a man, for example, of tremendous power, such as Tolstoi, this happens only because far too many talk of these things superficially, and so few begin to change their lives. More quiet, and more time to think of their "souls"—that is what men need in our own day—the owners of our factories as well as the workers in them. That also is what our women need, those of the poorer classes who through work and care, and those of the richer classes who through pleasure and social functions, never come to themselves. Mammon is still the enemy of religion, it still makes men self-satisfied and opposed to sacrifice, it still takes the form of pleasure or of care, and the words of Jesus against Mammon are as necessary and as powerful now as when they were first uttered.

What positive aims has Jesus set against the service of Mammon? Did he really bring comfort to the poor by pointing to God and another world? Did his teaching imply that they should not exert themselves energetically to improve their present conditions? Were the Beatitudes which point the poor to heaven a mere excuse to enable himself and others to possess the kingdom of the earth in luxury and calm? To say so would be an insult to

his work and his life. He asked for love and submission only after he had himself taken leave of house and home, of land and goods. For himself he asked nothing except what was involved in the maxim that the labourer is worthy of his hire; that he to whom he had declared his message and who accepted it should give him to eat. The fundamental spirit of the whole of his teaching is that no one should live a life based on Mammon and anxiety, but should place himself with absolute confidence in the hands of the heavenly Father.

The implication of this teaching is that each should commence by changing his own life: that each should understand what the word "Repent" signifies in his own personal life. The change involved in repentance is not cessation of our present work, but that we work from other motives, and that the fundamental feeling that accompanies work is then calmness and joy.

Thus the idea of a completely new world of love forces itself upon us, and we see the ideal of a new humanity as a family in which each serves the other, and all help one another to the best of their power.

Is a world held together by good disposition, by love, something we can conceive as actual? Has not every organisation of the world been the work of selfishness? Were not the words of Jesus meant for the final days before the end of the world, which he supposed to be approaching, and not as a morality for daily life as we know it? Is not the love of money the lever of everything good, of all progress, all civilisation? Was not Buckle right when he wrote: "In the same way, we constantly hear of the evils of wealth, and of the sinfulness of loving money, although it is certain that, after the love of knowledge, there is no one passion which has done so much good to mankind as the love of money. It is to the love of money that we owe all trade and commerce; in other words, the possession of every comfort and luxury which our own country is able to supply. Trade and commerce have made us familiar with the productions of many lands, have awakened curiosity, have widened our ideals by bringing us in contact with nations of various manners, speech,

and thought, have supplied an outlet for energies which would otherwise have been kept pent up and wasted, have accustomed men to habits of enterprise, forethought, and calculation, have, moreover, communicated to us many arts of great utility, and have put us in possession of some of the most valuable remedies with which we are acquainted, either to save life or to lessen pain. These things we owe to the love of money. If theologians could succeed in their desire to destroy that love, all these things would cease, and we should lapse again into comparative barbarism." If this gospel of Capitalism, especially the last sentence, were right, then Jesus would be condemned; but even a brief consideration shows how much nearer the truth Wagner, in his early years, and Tolstoi were in thinking that ultimately men do not live from selfishness, but by love. Selfishness and love have been from the beginning the two levers that have set humanity in movement. Love is just as human, just as natural as selfishness; it reaches back, in fact, to the animals. Through selfishness alone — even through organised selfishness, law — humanity could not maintain itself. The motive of sympathy that brings man closer to man and raises him above the law, to love and to work for men, first makes life possible. The foundation of our life is the trust that grows up not simply from custom, but from the love of man for all that bear human features. Surely Comte is more correct than Buckle when he speaks of an inherent tendency to universal love, and says: "No calculations of self-interest can rival this social instinct, whether in promptitude and breadth of intuition, or in boldness and tenacity of purpose. True it is that the benevolent emotions have in most cases less intrinsic energy than the selfish. But they have this beautiful quality, that social life not only permits their growth, but stimulates it to an almost unlimited extent, while it holds their antagonist in constant check."

We have nevertheless to face the fact, which we shall endeavour to establish by clear witnesses, that our external civilisation, in spite of its improvement and protection of life, does not make us more happy. Have we more freedom for spiritual

matters since machines have taken work from us and railways have shortened the time we spend in travel? Is it not true that we have developed a state of bustle and haste that makes us more and more restless, and robs us of our peace? Has not the worker who has made possible this "progress of civilisation" almost had to sell his soul for it? Has he not all too often sunk to a mere part in the machine? Our external progress has, in truth, been dearly bought.

Ibsen almost fifty years ago already saw deeply our inner need, when, almost in a vision, he lets Brand look upon our condition.

"Worse times, worse visions, flash like lightning through the night of the future! The suffocating British coalfield smoke sinks black over the land, smirches all the fresh green, stifles all the fair shoots, sweeps low over the land, mingled with poisonous matter; steals the sun and the daylight from the country places, and drips down like the rain of ashes on the doomed city of old. Now the race has grown ill-favoured—through the crooked passages of the mine wails the droning, dripping water; the herd of mannikins, busy and self-satisfied, set free the dark and fettered prisoners of the ore, walking with soul and back hunched, glaring like dwarfs with greedy eyes after the glittering, lying gold. Their souls give forth no cry, their mouths smile not; a brother's fall wounds not their hearts, their own rouses no lion within them; they hammer, file, and coin; the last trace of light has fled; the race has become a people forgetful that the work of the Will ends not, however much power fails."

Jesus also saw a world full of need and of tears, and, with a glowing enthusiasm, he set his hope on another, and strove to realise it. Soon must come a time when the spirit of God should prevail; soon must come a world in which the peace-makers should rule; where there should be no more pain, and where no one discouraged by poverty should cease to pray. He longed for another world; he worked for it; he desired to prepare men for it. He who would truly understand the thoughts of Jesus must

commence with this Utopia. He who is not full of golden dreams, as Jesus was, for the suffering and the troubled, the oppressed and the disinherited, either has not accepted the spirit of Jesus, or is of opinion that he can himself rise to something higher. These golden dreams must lead to work, work like his or other, but saving work in any case, otherwise they are but vain imaginations.

That is one thing. But Jesus meant and desired that a new society, based solely upon love, should grow out of his life. He gave clearly enough to his disciples fundamental principles in contrast with those of the State and of law: "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you: but whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister, and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant" (Matt. xx. 25). He desired from his disciples the rejection of revenge and of the legal attitude. He desired them to live in the spirit of love and likeness to God, and not by fighting for their "rights." Though he declared reward and justice to be the last and highest act of God in the great judgment, we are not to suppose that this has anything to do with earthly judges in the State. In fact, the justice of which he talks is not "just" in this usual legal sense, but must thus defend itself against such "justice": "Is thine eye evil because I am good?" (Matt. xx. 16).

Can this ethic of the last days, of the end of the world and of a small society, be received as a solution of the fundamental social problem—in the widest sense. Who would give to this question any other answer but that of faith or of lack of faith? In justification of faith in the advent of a world "without" rights and law, "without" State and war, however fantastic it may seem, many things may be urged. Law, right, and the State have been evolved: there was once a time when there were no such things on earth. Are these to be the last words of wisdom? Before the State, there was the family; and before right, revenge: even to-day the family has not allowed the idea of rights to dominate

it, even law often comes to a standstill with regard to it: in the duel revenge lives amongst us associated with rights. There was a time when the principle "an eye for an eye," blood for blood, punished the man guilty of manslaughter just as the murderer, and the man who killed through carelessness in just the same way. To-day we ask more as to the motive, and we punish according to the motive rather than according to the deed. Already the world has commenced on all sides to rise above law. Ibsen's cry is re-echoed a thousand times: "I hear, too, that the laws are different from what I thought, but I can't believe that they are right. It appears that a woman has no right to spare her dying father, or to save her husband's life. I don't believe that."

To-day Tolstoi's flaming words no longer die unheard. Our law originated and developed in polytheism, and like the Roman idea, "right" corresponds very much with the evaluation of men and things from the point of view of polytheistic ethic. Nevertheless, with his faith man casts his anchor in the dim distance, in his high aim for his own future, whether he believes in the Father in heaven or in the Superman. We are already in the process of transforming our laws in the direction of our morality. In the first place, the mode of execution of punishment has been changed; the idea of retribution it implied is slowly being forced on one side by the idea of education: work, school, and Church undertake to raise the prisoner again. Education is a deed of moral love quite removed from retribution. Through this we actually reward the wrong-doer, in the sense of Jesus, with good! Our views concerning the right to punish and to kill will gradually change, just as our ideas of the execution of punishment have changed. The feet of those who will relieve us of these conceptions are already at the door. Moral feeling revolts against the treatment of misdemeanours against property as equal to or more important than wrongs against honour and health. The value we accord to human beings as such will no longer allow us to tolerate such treatment. We look upon war, as it was carried on in earlier centuries, as an outrage and an utter

absurdity. We protect and care for the wounded enemy; we no longer dash "his child against a stone." Yet all of these things from the point of view of mere national self-preservation are not to be justified. We have still the fact of war, but the way in which it is carried on is changing. The idea of peace makes continual progress, certainly not because the consequences of a triumphant war would be so bad that we could not meet them, but really because we are beginning inwardly to rise above war. He that hath eyes to see, sees everywhere a new and higher level of international life rising very slowly on its course. The State and law will, it is true, never disappear entirely, because humanity always needs organisation, but they will remain as quite subordinate aids, no longer as a divine couple that tolerate no other god besides. In Jesus' faith in God we rise above the polytheistic level of social life. Will not such a world be a garden of God, a true eternal good for our soul? Those are high and distant ideals. Yet shall we doubt and abandon them because they are high and distant? Certainly not. Woe to us when our faith and our will do not rise above the commonplace; when we see only what lies before our eyes, and work simply to maintain what is. Woe if we give out as Christian morality that confusion, that we have around us, of the ideas of Jesus with the polytheistic conception of the world.

What separates us from Jesus is not the ideal, but the way to the ideal. We no longer believe in the sudden advent of the end of the world, but hold that God's mills grind slowly, and that God's relation to humanity is an infinite one. Thus by the side of that great means of Jesus, the preaching of a new disposition,—the means that has always been and still remains the best,—are hundreds of formulated requirements for the day by which we slowly approach the ideal.

Judaism at the time of Jesus was on the point of developing in all directions beyond the old ideals, which, notwithstanding the worship of one God Jahveh in Israel, were not essentially different from the polytheistic ideas of the neighbouring peoples. This applies to the great social question that Wagner discussed:

whether polygamy or monogamy is the more correct form of marriage. Monogamy was already the rule; but there was a veiled polygamy through the facility with which a man could send back, with a letter to her father, the wife that did not please him. Later, this became a problem: conscience became more delicate. The Pharisees asked: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" (Matt. xix. 3). Jesus stood resolutely on the side of the new, the coming, that of genuine monogamy. "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives." The disciples felt the severity of the commandment. "If the case of a man be so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry." Jesus thought it easy to live married so, if a man transforms his hard heart to a gentle and pure one, and learns to forgive. However it is quite false here, as in every case, to make of the words of Jesus, which are purely inward and moral, a civil or an ecclesiastical law. For the meaning of the command is annulled, if it is taken to imply that two hard hearts shall for ever be externally bound one to the other. If they cannot manifest the love that alone makes a moral life together possible, they are answerable to God, and not to the State or Church. The chief aim of all human social life can only be, in Jesus' sense, to make us "sons of God." If a marriage is an obstacle to this highest end, it must give way. So far, for example, in Ibsen's play, Nora's departure from her husband would be indeed Christian, if two things were sure: first, that in her married life she could not develop herself (and just because the husband *loved* her merely in his own way such development seemed impossible); and, secondly, that she would corrupt her children by staying with them. The latter, however, is not the case: it is a sin that, now she is mature and able to bring up her children, she should leave them to a stranger, and to the father, who lives in the same lie by which she herself believes she would poison her children.

All other questions must be placed under the same point of view: all human social life should be so organised that it may produce "children of God," that is, men who are like God, in

whom the spirit of Jesus lives again. For this at least a certain level of material welfare is necessary. If, in the meaning of Jesus, morality is not the following of the ten commandments of Moses, nor the thousand and one that are given by the priests in the confessional, but a new spirit in which each one is to make his individual moral decisions, then we have here an educational aim to which our unsystematic social organisation is not yet adapted. If the human soul is really of more value than the whole world, if we are to become the children of God and not slaves and masters, we have here an abundance of tasks that lead us far beyond our present social system. To attain these aims, it is not the accumulation of capital that we require, but primarily food, clothing, and cleanliness. Healthy and sufficiently large dwellings are indispensable, and it should be possible for mothers to stay at home and bring up their children, that they themselves might also be educated: they should not be forced by the circumstances of our social system to do work outside the home. A people that compels one part of its women to do their duties as mothers as something subsidiary to the chief occupation of adding to the earnings of the husband, so that the children shall not cry in vain for bread, is not a people that lives according to the spirit of Jesus. Before everything else, what we need in this connection for the poorer as well as the richer classes is a particularly good education of the women, not merely of those who are forced to earn their own living, but also of those who marry. A woman should be neither the toy nor the tyrant of her husband, but his helper; and she should really know how to bring up her children. If we are in earnest with the teaching of Jesus regarding the ideal and the meaning of life, thousands of claims force themselves upon us to-day of which Jesus had no conception, and from his view of the world could not have had.

The movements of the masses in our time tend to give the power and the reins of government to an important and organised section of the community. The masses fight for their claims: the spirit of Jesus works differently. It is of a man's personal

conscience that Jesus thinks. He who understands the spirit of Jesus not only learns to be happy in his faith in God the Father, but, further, makes the strictest demands upon himself with regard to personal purity and sacrifice for others. When we consider the social question in the spirit of Jesus, we are bound to think of the people as a whole and of the struggle of the masses for a life worthy of man, and for the possibility of development to the "sonship of God." Sacrifice is required of us all: one class must not only pursue the moral right of its own demands, but it must also make sacrifices for the others. The gospel is always a paradox, not, indeed, for reason in its highest sense, but a paradox in its faith in the marvellous, in the seemingly impossible, in that which apparently lies beyond our power to achieve.

The spirit of Jesus goes further than all the work of social reform, even though his spirit may become the most living and the strongest motive power in that work. For the meshes of human organisation are coarse, and the really miserable, just those who are in need of help, are most frequently those who fall through them. Already behind the organised workers a mass is beginning to rise up for which the methods of the present labour movements are not sufficient. These people are morally and otherwise unable to raise themselves. In spite of the unsatisfactory impression these make upon us, men who are imbued with the spirit of Jesus will recognise and work for these also, indeed more especially in that they cannot help themselves.

The social movement will be carried forward to the good of the human race, of the whole human society, with most success and most speedily by true disciples of Jesus. The more the affections of men are influenced by his character and teaching the quicker will their hands move to help. What is there inspiring in the aim to set up leaders of labour as our rulers in place of princes and priests? Social Democracy never becomes sufficiently clear to confess this as its aim, yet it strives to give its crowds a new gospel of happiness, in greater wealth and peace. Hearts

may be aroused to much greater warmth by the aim which is to be derived from Jesus. To make human society one great family, in which "children of God" are brought up, like to their Father in goodness and purity of heart, are men, not slaves, personalities, not masses—that is a task and a faith for centuries.

CHAPTER V.

JESUS, IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEM OF CIVILISATION AND CULTURE, AS THE PREACHER OF A BUDDHISTIC SELF-REDEMPTION.

THERE is, perhaps, no better refutation of the Liberal deification of culture and civilisation, and of the wisdom of Social Democracy, that men may be made happy by the raising of the standard of their material condition, than the fact that the finest spirits in those sections of the people who are rich and possess all the material goods of life, long for redemption from this culture, for their full portion of which millions of the people wish to fight as though it constituted their happiness. Already the propertied classes show signs of surfeit with that culture which in our own age has been greater than in any previous age. Health has become a problem, and sport a kind of salvation. An almost fanatical reverence for the natural and the physically strong has arisen amongst us. Men prize before all else strong and healthy bodies, and the humanity to which the eighteenth century hoped to educate mankind is scorned as sentimental. All these are signs of the times. An increase of nervous diseases, a feature common to times of degeneration, is evident to everybody. All sorts of counter-movements, such as vegetarianism and nature cures, have sprung up almost in the form of redemptive religions, as once before in the cults of the Gnostics in the Roman Empire. Remarkable religious needs have begun to express themselves and to try to find satisfaction in occultism and spiritism. In literature, mysticism and allegory have begun a triumphant march. With the busy life of our time, equally exhausting in pleasure and in work, many have begun to suffer from weariness, and too

great a sensibility to pain, suffering, and conflict, and to feel that need of calm, and that longing for death, that has characterised all previous epochs of degeneration.

For these reasons, Buddhism has made its appearance amongst European peoples. Certain particular qualities have recommended it. Apparently free from dogma, it does not even exact from its adherents the difficulties of belief in God. Further, it is presented not as religion, but as philosophy; and it is asserted that as knowledge it is scientifically provable truth. Such a claim is certainly self-deceptive, though it is often made in philosophy; it is nevertheless a very effective statement so long as it is generally believed that philosophy and religion are in opposition. Those who are at all cognisant of these things know that though philosophy contains objective science within it, as a whole, and in its highest sense, as found among its greatest representatives, it is ultimately an art of life, the principles of a happy and pure life in relation to the universe; and they know further how this depends upon faith, and that it is in essence the same as religion. Nietzsche, as the Buddhists, was always under the delusion that his religion was science, nothing but established knowledge. It was in this way that he misled so many Germans with their childish respect for "scientific" proof. Buddhism increased also on account of the romantic interest that we westerns have always taken in the wonderlands of the East, an interest that burnt hardly more vividly in the soul of Alexander than in the heart of many a modern author.

Schopenhauer and Richard Wagner.

These signs in western Europe of the desire for redemption from civilisation have been evident since the eighteenth century. The first who uttered the longings in a way that affected the feelings was Rousseau, who revolted against the artificiality of culture in France before the Revolution. The earliest utterance of the kind in Germany was from the sensitive soul of Arthur Schopenhauer, in whom this mood led to a philosophy of renun-

ciation. He found his main support in the literature of India, then just recently introduced into Europe. His philosophy breathes the atmosphere of primitive oriental wisdom, and the charm of melancholy Hindu poetry. Many decades passed before Schopenhauer found a public. Only after his death did he become a really popular author. Only when the time was ripe, and the surfeit of culture had led to such a spirit of degeneration in Germany, after the successful war with France and years of material advancement and pleasure, could redemption be sought and found in the gospel of Schopenhauer and Buddha. Only the *fin de siècle* made Schopenhauer its favourite philosopher.

Culture is suffering; life itself is suffering: those are the fundamental propositions from which Schopenhauer proceeds. "Every individual human being, and his course of life, is but another short dream of the eternal spirit of nature, of the persistent will to live; is only another fleeting form which it carelessly sketches on its infinite page of space and time; allows to remain for a time so short that he is comparatively nothing, and then it obliterates him to make room for others. Yet, and here lies the serious side of life, every one of these fleeting forms, these empty fancies, must be paid for by the whole will to live, in all its activity, with many deep sufferings, and finally with a bitter death, long feared and coming at last." In face of these pains of existence only two ways are open to us: to recognise the deceptive appearance of life and not to wish anything more from it—the way, that is, of philosophy and asceticism: or by introspection to seek satisfaction in one's self and to return home from the world of appearance to the real world within. Towards his fellow-men the man who recognises these truths will have compassion: he will show them deeds of sympathy and of love, in particular by teaching renunciation. That is how those great Christian saints lived who were not corrupted by Jewish optimism. "The doctrine of original sin (the assertion of the will), and of salvation (the denial of the will), are certainly the great truths which constitute the essence of Christianity, while most of what remains is only the outer covering, the husk or accessories."

In several passages, Schopenhauer contended that the recommendation of celibacy by Jesus (Matt. xix. 11 f.) proves the ascetic tendency of Christianity. Protestantism, in its established form, is, he thinks, a religion for comfortable married and enlightened pastors, "but is not Christianity." "For, although Protestantism, especially in its present form, seeks to conceal it, that fundamental ascetic character which my philosophy describes as the denial of the will to live, is taught not only by the religions of the East, but by Christianity as well. Even the open enemies of Christianity who have appeared in the most recent times, have ascribed to it the doctrines of renunciation, self-denial, perfect chastity, and, in general, mortification of the will, which they quite correctly call the 'anti-cosmic tendency,' and they have proved entirely that such doctrines are essentially proper to original and genuine Christianity."

"Jesus Christ ought always to be conceived as something universal, as the symbol or personification of the denial of the will to live; but never as an individual, whether as pictured in the mythical account given in the gospels, or in the probably true history which lies at the foundation of that account." In these words Schopenhauer outlined the programme for a great group of representations of Jesus. The more his description of Jesus has been read, the greater the influence it has acquired as a symbol of compassion and of asceticism. To his support came Liberal and materialistic opponents of Christianity, who did everything they could to paint the religion they fought against as unprogressive and inimical to culture. To his support came the Catholic Church, which, with faith turned to the ideals of the Middle Ages, had during the previous century resisted almost all that influence upon culture that was exerted by the philosophy and art of northern Europe. And, finally, there came to his support theological science itself, which at that time was coming to recognise more and more clearly that the preaching of the end of the world and of the last judgment was the fundamental atmosphere of the gospel.

In the 'fifties, Richard Wagner was attracted and won over by

Schopenhauer and his conception of Jesus. The experiences of his own life led him into the arms of Schopenhauer. The faith of the young Wagner could not bear the heavy troubles and the deceptions he met with in the struggle in pursuance of his art. His faith had been simply faith in men and their love: and he ended in pessimism with Schopenhauer. True, Wagner's energy was so great that he was never able to reach the stage at which Schopenhauer and his followers arrived, that of loneliness and solitude. It was a necessity of his nature that he should be with men, men whom he might influence.

Nothing shows more clearly the change of his view than the double conclusion of the *Twilight of the Gods*. His Valkyrie at one time announces to men the solution of the riddle of the universe:

"The race of Gods is vanished like a breath,
And masterless I leave the world behind:
The brightest treasure of my wisdom's hoard
I therefore give to you. Not goods, nor gold,
Nor royal pomp, nor palaces, nor halls,
Nor costly shows of wealth's magnificence;
Nor yet the empty kindness of false leagues,
Nor canting custom's merciless decrees.
Care not for these; let Love reign paramount
In sorrow and in joy."

Then we hear the song of love and law, of wealth and State, no longer: the singer of the determining powers of life probes deeper. Love itself ends in suffering: our world, when we have reached its inner being, is but a world of will and idea, of desire and delusion. So the Valkyrie now sings:

"I lead no more to Valhalla's feast!
Know ye whither now I go?
From the realm of wishes I pass,
From the realm of delusion I flee for ever!
The open door of eternal Becoming
I close behind me!
To the holiest land of choice,
Free from desire and delusion
The world-transforming ideal
Free from eternal oscillation
Draws on the souls that know.

The Eternal,
The blissful end of all,
Know ye how I have won it?
Trusting love
Opened my eyes
To the deepest suffering:
At last the world was before me!"

The years that lie between the writing of these two conclusions of the *Twilight of the Gods* hide in their lap the decisive change of Wagner's life. From this time he saw Jesus with the eyes of Schopenhauer; and, with the ideas of Schopenhauer, he interpreted the life of Jesus in allegories. He thought of Jesus and Buddha as essentially similar one to the other, and he conceived his own mission to be the salvation and purification of Christianity from its degeneration into Jewish optimism; he would do himself what Parsifal does, "bring redemption to the redeemed." *Parsifal* is the highest and most perfect preaching of the gospel as Buddhistic redemption. "Blessed is thy suffering, which to the despairing and the foolish gave that highest power of sympathy and the might of purest knowledge."

Knowledge and compassion are the redeeming powers; Parsifal, the saint, knight, and monk, is their incarnation.

The sudden change in the mind of Wagner is typical: the finest and most spiritual men of his generation almost all went through a similar experience. We may claim that it was to the good of Christianity that, in opposition to the superficial criticism by Materialism, as at that time championed by Strauss in his last book, *The Old and the New Faith*, and still more in counteraction against the half conquest of Christianity by a practical materialism of comfort, Schopenhauer and Wagner made conscience more acute and deep.

The course of life as it was often experienced by the noblest in Wagner's generation has been described by his disciple Malwida von Meysenbug in a wonderfully entrancing manner: the way from a passionate Christianity through romantic Liberalism to Revolution, from that to Materialism, and thence to Schopenhauer. She has thought it possible to put the meaning of her

life in words: "I saw clearly that this struggle between the will to live and the renunciation of life was the struggle of my life. For the second time the light of self-redemption appeared brightly to me. The God imprisoned in us must free Himself from the limitations of individuality, in which the impetuous impulse to live has placed Him. The long tortuous wrestling of existence has no other meaning than this, that of resurrection after the death on the cross, in which the 'I,' the personal, dies, to continue its life as universal. Only he who understands the Christian symbol thus has understood it rightly. The suffering of existence has produced from time to time the great redeemers: Buddha, Christ, and all who have endeavoured in holy compassion to give light to mankind concerning the real nature of existence and its aim, and have desired nothing else than to make clear for all time the great ideal of redemption. In the noblest symbols they have striven to point out the way that leads from the misery of existence, in poverty and sin, disease and death, to the freedom of the children of God, to Nirvana, 'the land free from delusion' of those who have triumphed over appearance."

These few words are typical. They show how the conceptions of Jesus and Buddha are taken together and made to coalesce, and the method by which this is accomplished, by allegory. The ideas of Christianity are only symbols, which conceal reality from dull weak eyes, and reveal it to those that see. Following such a method anything whatever may be read into the gospels, and all religions may be transformed into one, as the Theosophists try to do.

In England there have been several attempts to represen Buddhism as at once a more philosophical and a more satisfying form of thought than Christianity, and as at the same time involving a moral code just as high, if not higher. Among so-called Agnostics a smattering of knowledge of eastern thought obtained at second or third hand has often been used as a basis of criticism of the claims of Christianity. Apart from such writers, even serious students have been under the impression that Christianity is much more like Buddhism than it really is. The Christianity

of those who have come much under eastern influences has been modified in the direction of Buddhism and Hinduism. In the main, Edwin Arnold preserved the difference, though not with all its sharpness, of Christianity and this Eastern thought in his poem *The Light of the World.*

We find, in the first place, a tendency to represent the thought of Jesus as pantheistic:

> "Ofttimes, in later hours,
> When lack was of some name, He called that Spirit
> Which is the All, and makes the wide seas roll,
> The blue sky bend, the clustered planets shine,
> The dead things come to life, the live things live,
> That Being which—ever with Him—was as He,
> And largest, fullest, in His own sure soul
> Dwelt immanent—'Our Father.'"

That is to regard this name of "Our Father" as something accidental: and as a name, further, for the "All." Arnold saw also in the teaching of Jesus the negation of sense:

> "He lightly lifted up
> Earth's painted veil, and showed us—close beyond,
> Infinite, clear,—eternal life, decreed
> Not for to-morrow, or hereafter—no!
> Already round, and in, and over us,
> Already ours to enter and possess:
> Always existing, always high, shut off
> Some little while by sense, which having eyes,
> Sees not: and hearing, hears not; for some while
> By body darkened."

Nowhere in the teaching of Jesus is it to us evident that he thought that sense, as such, darkens the view of the eternal; rather is it one of the means by which the eternal is manifested: it is the talent that one has to use, the vineyard which one has to cultivate, but all in accordance with a spiritual aim. The method of Jesus was not "foremost by renunciation," however much renunciation may be involved in a life after his pattern. Renunciation is negative: the glory of his teaching, psychologically considered, is that it gives as its chief, indeed, as its all-embracing method, active serving love as a positive ideal. After

mentioning one or two similarities between the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount and Buddhism, Arnold brings out some of the contrasts of the two systems. Christianity versus Buddhism is Joy versus Sorrow.

> "Right joyous goes his doctrine: glad
> Mid Life's sad charms, and swift vicissitudes,
> And Death's unshunned and hard perplexities
> Which makes us bear to live. But Buddha held
> Life was long sorrow, ignorantly prized,
> Grievously reassumed from change to change:
> Whirling sad souls upon The Wheel; unsaved,
> Until they stay it; staying lust of days.
>
> Nirvana; where what seemed so dear,
> Love, lieth dumb as Hate; Life dead as Death:
> And the vast voice of endless Ecstasy
> Is Silence, and its Day eternal Dream."

We do not ask for Arnold's view of the Resurrection, but that resurrection is possible in every life is a psychological truth. When ethical and religious resurrection as an actuality is accepted as a fundamental faith and principle of life, the heights attainable by man are the greatest he can conceive. In resurrection, Arnold found the Great Consummation:

> "Completing what our Buddha left unsaid:
> Carpeting bright his noble Eight-fold Way
> With fragrant blooms of all-renouncing love,
> And bringing high Nirvana nearer hope,
> Easier and plainer!"

Jesus was the:

> "First of human souls
> That touched the top of Manhood, and—from height
> Of godlike, pure Humanity—reached God."

And as man he taught:

> "The way to God is by the road of men:
> Find thy far Heaven in near Humanity:
> Love thy seen brother as thyself! Thereby
> Thou lovest Him unseen, who is the All!"

The religion of Jesus is not a philosophical system; it is not through thought and word that it makes its appeal: its influence is one of personality upon personality, of personal life upon personal life. Such was the power of Jesus. Thus Arnold represented Claudia, the wife of Pilate, as saying:

> "I, too, remember well!
> I saw Him from my lattice, and his eyes
> Burned themselves on my heart. Truly a king
> Of truth—if anywhere such kingdom be!"

Finally, Arnold saw that in the teaching of Jesus, death is a road to higher things; that in everything of value, in love above all, the way to the best is the way of death, the principle of dying to live. For Jesus that was fundamental.

> "He knew
> How Love, for love of Love, must die, to prove
> Love never dies."

The Theosophists.

The religion preached by Wagner, especially in the *Parsifal*, has not yet been at all really accepted. Most of the admirers of Wagner are still unconscious of the fact that in it we are concerned with something different from Christianity, from which *Parsifal* borrows its religious symbols.

The Buddhistic conception of Jesus has, however, in a markedly Christian dress developed amongst the Theosophists into definite communities. During the last twenty years there has arisen, chiefly in India, England, and America, but also in Germany, a not too respectable society of Theosophists, in which the primitive needs of the human heart for mystery and enchantment, for foresight and ecstasy, for symbols and sayings difficult to understand, have created for themselves a new home. This chaotic collection of half-understood ancient beliefs and traditions is taken together with scraps of knowledge from modern Natural Science, and data concerning hypnotic and other neurotic states, and is formed into a remarkable system which is

neither completely fantasy nor science. The system finds its parallel only in those of the Gnostics of the first century of our era. The aim of this new religion, into the mysteries of which it is not easy for an outsider to penetrate, is to find the kernel of truth in all religions. These religions, through their great seers, such as Buddha and Jesus, are essentially equal. The truth thus found is to redeem man. There are different kinds of Theosophy. Men such as Theodor Schulze and Hubbe-Schleider, and the secretary of the German section, Rudolf Steiner, are not so very far removed from Christianity. They try to give a modern form to the teachings of Buddhism, especially to make the doctrine of the transmigration of souls agreeable, and to make men realise Christian love as interpreted to mean sympathy. Such writers are to be taken much more seriously than, for example, Fr. Hartmann, whose book, *Jehoshua, the Prophet of Nazareth, or Fragments from the Mysteries—The History of a True Initiation and a Key to the Understanding of the Allegories of the Bible*, tries to read into the gospels the Theosophical teaching of an ethical pantheism. He introduces his attempt with the most slanderous tales concerning the birth of Jesus, his youth in Nazareth and Egypt, where "in a hut" Jesus learned all wisdom (just as he was previously pictured in the romances of the Enlightenment), became a member of an Order, then "Master"; returned to Nazareth and began himself to teach wisdom. This account is not given as history, but as the material for all sorts of foolish symbols and similes. A superabundance of words is to make up for the want of rational meaning; many mysterious extracts from primitive manuscripts are to arouse a respect for the superhuman learning of our Theosophist. Here is an example from the explanation of the Sermon on the Mount: "In the Greek translation of an old Syrio-Chaldaic manuscript (in English in the Gospel of Matthew) we find the following:

"1. But when Jesus saw the people he went up into a high mountain, and when he had sat down his disciples came to him.

"When all the intellectual powers of men strove for the knowledge of the truth, truth appeared on the summit of

the mountain of faith, and after it had taken possession of the soul from the highest region, the most holy experiences came to it.

"2. And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying:

"Then the heart of man opened, and light illuminated the understanding, and the voice of wisdom spoke:

"3. Immortal (*Μακάριοι*, Free from Karma or death. Redeemed, immortal) are they who breathe the spirit of self-knowledge, for to them belongs the world above (*Οὐρανοί*, The firmament. The ether. The dwelling-place of the blessed. The higher regions of the astral light. Eternity).

"The breath of God in the Universe is spiritual love, and there is no true knowledge without the possession of this. The kingdom of God will reveal itself in the soul through awakening man to consciousness of immortality, and not through dreams and ecstasy, not through meditation, imagination, or logic.

"4. Immortal are they that mourn, for they shall be cared for.

"If the soul, after having been bound up for centuries in the things of sense, becomes conscious of its degradation, its redemption is already near: for without the awakening power of God it could never feel and see its abasement."

Nikolaus Notowitch, in his book, *The Missing Parts of the Life of Jesus* (1894), attempted by a daring swindle to compel us to take the Buddhistic conception as history. He asserted that he had found the book in Hindu writing in a monastery at Leh in Kashmir, and that he had translated it into French. Its title was, *The Life of the Holy Issa, the Best of the Sons of Men.* From the contents of the book itself, it could be immediately seen that the author knew no more than there is in the Bible concerning the history of the people of Israel; though he says that the temple was destroyed at the time of Jesus, and that Pilate sought Jesus through the whole land. What the book says about the Emperor and the State is as modern as its utterances concerning woman: "Hear therefore what I shall say unto you:

Honour woman; for she is the mother of the whole world, and the whole truth of creation rests on her. She is the foundation of all that is beautiful and good; just as she is at the same time the essence of life and of death. The existence of man depends upon her, for she is his natural and spiritual support in all his work," and so on. All this is so clearly modern, such charming thoughts concerning woman, that to think they should be put forward as the words of Jesus, can but raise a smile. Nevertheless, Notowitch was able for a time to deceive western Europe with his *Issa*.

Vegetarianism.

Health a problem; asceticism a remedy; right food placed amongst the questions of the meaning of the world and of life; all such things are signs of decay. The healthy man lives in health like the bird in the air. The child in the abundance of its life does not trouble itself about its life; only the senile believe that the soul is no more than meat, and think it possible to replace or to cultivate feeling by means of food. So far as we can see, Vegetarianism has been preached as a redemption since the time of Richard Wagner. Abstinence from flesh-meat is to save men from suffering and all that is vulgar.

Wagner himself felt the seriousness of the problem of health, and he saw the means of health in the love that Jesus preaches. His Jesus, the true healer, says: "My medicine is simple: live after my commandments and ye shall need no physicians. Therefore I say unto you, If your bodies are ailing, take care that your children be sound and that they shall not inherit your sickness. Live steadfast in the common work; say not: 'This is mine,' but, 'All is ours'—so none of you will starve, but all grow healthy. The evils that will still befall you through Nature are easy to heal: Does not each beast in the field know what herb is good for it?—and how should ye not know it, when ye once see clearly and with open eyes? But so long as ye go the way of want and gluttony, of usury and starvation, your eye is

veiled and ye see not what is simpleness itself." "Why do the beasts in the wilderness not fall sick? They live in strength and joy, and when their hour cometh they quietly depart and lay themselves down where their creator lets them end."

In these words there is certainly a truth, the fulfilment of which we indeed strive to realise in beneficent social activity. When Wagner was older the problem and its solution took for him other forms. Take other food, and feeling will alter: without a change of manner of life new disposition is impossible. Jesus must have been a vegetarian, and in the Last Supper instituted the healing practice of Vegetarianism. Such is the explanation Wagner gives in *Religion and Art*, and in his confession of his view of life in *Parsifal*. The words of the Last Supper in *Parsifal* mean nothing but Vegetarianism, which is to take from man the nature of a beast of prey. "Jesus gave his own flesh and blood as the final and supreme atoning sacrifice for slaughtered flesh and for all blood sinfully shed, and gave to his disciples bread and wine for their daily meal: 'Eat this alone in remembrance of me.' That is the only healing office of Christian faith: with care for this all the doctrine of the Redeemer is put into practice."

By the method of allegorisation we can do anything we like: more even than the insertion of this "alone." In the same words a new symbol is found. In the appendix to *Religion and Art*, entitled "Heroism and Christianity," Wagner describes the participation of the blood of Christ as a "most holy purification" which, through the mixing of blood prevents the decay of peoples, and explains this with the strange words: "The blood in the Redeemer's veins might thus have flowed, as divine sublimate of the species itself, from the redemptive will's supreme endeavour to save mankind, at death-throes in the noblest races."

None will ask us expressly to refute these allegorical musings by reference to the definite and clear words of the gospels. Neither will critical examination be required of the numerous pamphlets which desire to make Jesus a preacher of abstinence from flesh-meat and from alcohol. However well-meant these

may be, they are far removed from the facts and give us no real aid. In his activity and zeal Winch tries to give a definite proof of this conception of Jesus. His writings show that it is just as easy for an abstinent doctor to be unjust and fanatical as for those theologians who eat meat and refuse point blank to take his interpretation of the Bible seriously.

According to Winch, Jesus ate no flesh and drank no wine. The wine at the Last Supper was unfermented juice of the grape, and the objection made by the opponents of Jesus, that he was a glutton and a wine-bibber, arose from the fact that he did not, like John, abstain at any time entirely from food, but always lived ascetically from bread and vegetables, water and lemonade. Truly, a ground for the people to call him a glutton!

We meet such an exposition best with a smile, which is not against Vegetarianism or abstinence, but this misunderstanding which is given so much importance: as though the external and individual matters of the life of Jesus must be imitated by us. If that were the case, the disciples of Jesus must not marry, must have neither money nor two coats, and so on. Jesus desired new feeling; but at the basis of these well-meant attempts lies a misunderstanding of his words. It may be possible to deduce from them the teaching of abstinence for our time and circumstances; but this cannot be taught on the authority of Jesus himself, even though he himself may have practised it.

The Rejection of the Buddhistic Conception of Jesus by Liberal and Socialistic Enthusiasm for Civilisation.

The clearer and the more certain the traits of renunciation and of indifference to culture appeared in the conceptions of Jesus, the louder was he proclaimed as a redeemer by Buddhists and all who find in asceticism salvation from the sufferings of life. On the other hand, there grew up an equal degree of antagonism and opposition from those who since the time of the Enlightenment have simply hoped to gain happiness on earth by means of an increased material and intellectual civilisation.

The insistence upon the importance of our life on earth, and the endeavour to obtain its values, was a great step forward from the time when men centred their minds on things above, and through their uncertainty as to the things of earth, left the latter to be taken up by the raw and uncultured, the vulgar and the selfish. The joy of men in their earthly life, and the inspiration to work to improve it, grew up in the eighteenth century out of the reaction from the apparent unworldliness of the seventeenth. This reaction was of fundamental importance to Germany, which seemed during the Thirty Years War of religion to lose not only its material civilisation, but also its spiritual and moral character, and almost to become a savage and uncultured land. The movement to improve the material conditions of life, and the hope to obtain salvation, virtue, and happiness by the work of civilisation and culture, became an increasingly strong motive in the nineteenth century, until there appeared the signs of fatigue and revulsion that we have already noticed.

Middle class Liberalism, inheriting the principles of the Enlightenment, took over its fundamental attitude of centring attention on present life, and thus, as we saw, would only consider Christianity and Jesus in so far as he seemed to maintain the reform ideal of freedom in Church and State. When, in 1841, Feuerbach commenced his far-reaching attack upon Christianity, he treated celibacy and the other-worldly tendencies in the most exhaustive manner in his book, *The Essence of Christianity*, proving these its essential and necessary factors; certain that in this way he could turn men from it. In a similar manner Max Stirner described "genuine" Christianity so that a society regarding the unrestrained desire of the individual for worldly prosperity, as did Liberalism, might be opposed to Christianity. To this must be added the Liberalism which was intoxicated with the enjoyment of the beautiful and with the results of science; the Liberalism that Strauss championed in his later years. All turned away from the uncultured and uneducated Jesus. Even in the second *Life of Jesus* we find the charge that there are defects

in the ethics of Jesus. *The Old and the New Faith* fights with determination from the point of view of a materialism intent on civilisation in opposition to an ascetic Jesus. It was painful to see a man, in his youth so strong and bold, in his old age think it possible to cover up the dark places of life with a little music and art; and how, in face of the increasing need of the labouring sections of the people, he only appealed to the power of the law, so that a young man, Nietzsche, could say to him, and that rightly, that he was no longer a guide, but a tempter of his peoplé to superficiality and emptiness.

It may be said with some justice that the popularity of Edward Fitzgerald's English version of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam was due, in the first place, to its literary excellence. There were those, however, who accepted it as a "philosophy" of life. Its spirit of Fatalism for a time found a response in the hearts of many who, either from their own experiences or from the theorisings of the natural scientists, had been led to the belief and the attitude of rigid necessitarianism. It represents the extreme of the opposition to the life of renunciation. The transitoriness of life was felt in the last years of the century as in few ages before: so many things call for our activity, and produce so little result, and our life is gone.

> "The Bird of Time has but a little way
> To fly—and Lo! the Bird is on the wing."

The *Rubaiyat* was able to represent a view and system of life because it made so clear the eternal questions man asks, and gave an answer to them. The fundamental questions are ultimately the same as Tolstoi's:

> "Into this Universe, and Why not knowing,
> Nor Whence, like Water, willy-nilly flowing:
> And out of it, as Wind along the waste,
> I know not Whither, willy-nilly blowing."

Some, imbued with the Agnosticism of Spencer, Huxley, and Stephen, failed to be inspired either by the ideals these writers

wished to teach, or by the gospel of Buddhistic redemption, and they called instead:

"Oh, come with old Khayyam, and leave the Wise
To talk; one thing is certain, that Life flies:
One thing is certain, and the Rest is lies:
The Flower that once has blown for ever dies."

Broken from the ideals of the past, they fell back upon the pleasures of the present: their life was and is not the quiet ease represented by the Persian poet, but a continuous bustle and effort to make new attractions, to find new amusements.

"Ah, fill the Cup:—what boots it to repeat
How Time is slipping underneath our Feet:
Unborn TO-MORROW, and dead YESTERDAY,
Why fret about them if TO-DAY be sweet!"

And their hope was the same, for these men also abandoned the idea of a continuous life extending beyond the grave, regarding it both as quite impossible and as not to be desired.

"One Moment in Annihilation's waste,
One Moment of the Well of Life to taste;
The Stars are setting, and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste!"

As the future lends no prospect, so the past is irrevocable:

"The Moving Finger writes, and having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it."

The immediate values of life must be taken as the only real ones—and they are good enough.

"Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
And Wilderness is Paradise enow."

And the modern determinist—of the type, for example, of Robert Blatchford in *God and My Neighbour*—also traces

the evil as evil to God, proclaiming man quite free of responsibility.

> "Oh Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
> And who with Eden didst devise the Snake:
> For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
> Is blackened, Man's forgiveness give—and take!"

To such an attitude reaction could not but come, as it did in many forms.

The novel inspired by Liberalism, though not so materialistic, was based on the same conviction of the value of this world, and had an enormous influence. It is calmly quiet in reference to Christianity and to Jesus. All we get is mockery at hypocritical and narrow-minded clergymen, other types than which the Liberal novel scarcely knows. Religion and Jesus, even where they are distinguished from their advocates, and much good is found in them, are still alien. A passage from Heyse's *Children of the World* shows this well: "What have we men more liberating, more charming, more comforting, than joy: joy in the beauty, the good, and the brightness of this world? While we read the New Testament we wander continually in the twilight of expectation and hope, we never reach the eternal reality which is to be ours . . . never is there a perfect radiance of joy, no merry-making, no laughter . . . the joy of this world is vain—we are pointed to a future which robs the present of all worth. The highest rapture on earth, to ponder over a pure, deep, and lovely thought arouses suspicion, for the Kingdom of Heaven is only for the poor in spirit. . . . Besides, this gentle, god-conscious man, in order to belong to the whole world, turned from his people so that he was without home and family. It was indeed necessary for him to do that—but it makes me feel cold . . . the lack of attachment to this world alarms and alienates me." Along with a naïve happiness in things of the world often went a remarkable understanding of the saying concerning the poor in spirit. With regard to these men we may doubt where misunderstanding ends and intentional mis-

representation begins. The question is always suggested to us by the works of Edward von Hartmann, who, though confessing another general view of life, in his criticism of Christianity resembles these Liberals rather than he does Schopenhauer.

The alienation from Jesus professed by Liberals, because he did not allow himself to be satisfied merely with the beautiful and bright world, and did not enjoy and praise all its glories, has become, among some Socialists, open condemnation. And this the Jesus who, just as a lyric poet, could speak so spiritually of the lilies of the field and of the sparrow on the roof! Like the Liberal advocates of culture, the masses rising from below set their faith upon the happiness that mechanical invention and education, possession and enjoyment, give. If they cease to think of Jesus as one who preached against "the rich" (as a fact he preached against Mammon, for which they often long), and fought against the priests and those in authority (he fought against hypocrisy and the use of force, which is to be found amongst Social Democrats as well as in the Church); even if they have some recognition of the spirituality and the world-transcendence of his requirement of repentance even from the poor, they turn from him just as decidedly as their Liberal opponents, with whom they are at one in their views concerning the happiness and the beauty of life. In the book *Darkness*, we have already seen the work of one of these men; and the pamphlet of the Jewish Social Democrat Losinsky, *True Christianity as the Enemy of Art and Culture*, and *What have the Poor to thank Christianity for?* express their feelings very well.

Robert Browning and Optimism.

In contrast with this Buddhist doctrine of renunciation and this practical materialism, stands the idealistic optimism of Robert Browning. The problems with which Browning was occupied in so many of his poems are not the difficulties of everyday life or the question of the ideal, but just these of the presence of evil and its reconciliation with an entirely optimistic

view of Reality. His work is more purely philosophical than psychological or theological. Christianity to him was the formulation of a definite optimism, in distinction both from Buddhistic resignation and from materialism. Not the personal character of the founder, Jesus, but his underlying faith in the ultimate triumph of the good, is what Browning himself felt so strongly and was so anxious to teach. The problems as Browning expressed them were more those of the philosopher than of the ordinary man who only feels them in occasional reflective moments. What is the meaning of evil and of pain? Is the world more good than evil? Will good or evil triumph, or will the world go on in an eternal oscillation and retain for ever the aspects that it now has? Our poet shared the spirit and the faith of the early thinkers of the century in Germany, and of the Cairds and T. H. Green and others in England. But he went further than these thinkers: he breathed an activism that has only recently found its adequate expression in technical philosophical literature. The good to be achieved depends for us upon our striving for it: we have to realise the idea of that which is best in us. To an age in which in England men were being encouraged to doubt, resignation, and materialism by the leaders of advancing Natural Science and still more by its less careful camp-followers, Browning spoke of faith. In place of doubt varied by faith he would have men put faith varied by a healthy doubt. Only with a predominance of faith could the activity be forthcoming which would lead to the realisation of the best. The state of doubt and negation, one of the commonest of experiences for a thoughtful man who at the same time feels deeply, is itself essentially unstable, as Browning describes.

> "Belief,
> As unbelief before, shakes us by fits,
> Confounds us like its predecessor.
> Where's the gain? How can we guard our unbelief,
> Make it bear fruit to us?—the problem here.
> Just when we are safest, there's a sunset touch,
> A fancy from a flower bell, some-one's death,
> A chorus ending from Euripides—

> And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
> As old and new at once as Nature's self
> To rap and knock and enter into our soul,
> Take hands and dance there a fantastic ring,
> Round the ancient idol, on his base again—
> The grand Perhaps! We look on helplessly—
> There the old misgivings, crooked questions are:
> This good God—What He could do, if He would,
> Would, if He could—then must have done long since.
> If so, when, where, and how? Some way must be—
> Once feel about, and soon or late you hit
> Some sense, in which it might be, after all
> Why not, 'The Way, The Truth, The Life'?"

The faith of Browning is the supreme faith of the theist, the faith also of Jesus when viewed in the light of his prayer, "Thy will be done"; ". . . All is as God overrules."

In the light of that fundamental belief the question and contrast of a "this world" and "an other-world" disappears. The distinction of an earth and a heaven as previously conceived is wrong. Thus in "Bishop Blougram's Apology," Browning could say:

> "I act for, talk for, live for this world now,
> As this world calls for action, life and talk—
> No prejudice to what the next world may prove,
> Whose new laws and requirements, my best pledge
> To observe then, is that I observe these now."

Service, duty in the present, is the outcome of his faith, and the natural way to development to what may come next in the process of evolution. True to the spirit of Christian teaching, Browning saw that it is by perfection as *man* that man rises beyond man to the divine, to attain which is the meaning of the process of life. That is a distant aim, but one that humanity has foreshadowed in the titles it has bestowed upon the highest man it has known—Jesus.

> "When all the race is perfected alike
> As Man, that is: all tended to mankind,
> And, man produced, all has its end thus far:
> But in completed man begins anew
> A tendency to God."

In this upward march evil has its place, for it is that which gives to man his ground of struggle:

> ". . . When the fight begins within himself,
> A man's worth something."

The problem common to every man

> "Is not to fancy what were fair in life
> Provided it could be—but finding first
> What may be, then to find how to make it fair
> Up to our means—a very different thing!"

Of the historical Jesus, Browning said little or nothing explicitly. He considered briefly the contentions of Strauss, but said finally, "Strauss may be wrong," and "So a risk is run—For what gain?" In his poem, "Christmas Eve and Easter Day," he decided—

> "For practical purpose sake,
> 'Twas obviously as well to take
> The popular story—understanding
> How the ineptitude of the time,
> And the penman's prejudice expanding
> Fact into fable fit for the clime,
> Had, by slow and sure degrees, translated it
> Into this myth—this Individuum—
> A Man!—a right true man."

But though Browning did not deal concretely with the person of Jesus, he probed to the bottom of his teaching and sounded the depth of his faith, and in the influencing of the century Browning has had his part. His optimism may seem to be too easily arrived at, but he based it upon its only ultimate basis for us, an act of will trusting in an overruling divine power; in the very Father to whom Jesus himself pointed. He saw, further, the secret of Christian development. Love that knows no sacrifice is not love, it is merely superficial feeling; and it was in the revelation of that love that dies in order to live again triumphant, that Jesus transcends all philosophers, poets, and religious teachers. This ultimate faith in God and the purpose of our creation, and this character of love as revealed by the life of

Jesus, nowhere finds better expression in Browning than in the lines:

> "So the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So, through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, Oh heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, My hands fashioned, see it in Myself.
> Thou hast no power, nor mayst conceive of Mine,
> But love I gave thee, with Myself to love,
> And thou must love Me, who have died for thee!"

Nietzsche's Rejection of the Buddhistic Conception of Jesus.

Bolder than that of Liberalism and the Social Democrats, and in the main issue justified, was Nietzsche's rejection of the Buddhistic conception of Jesus, as Schopenhauer and Wagner represented him. Nietzsche, the champion of the "real" world in opposition to a world beyond, which is a slander upon life, was indeed a well-disposed man who was full of hope, and in this was more like Jesus than was the death-seeking Buddhistic figure Schopenhauer had conceived him to be. To Nietzsche, an individualist and assertor of this world, the highest development of Liberalism, with its joy in the world, seemed to lie in the future, in a new and higher form of man, a form that will be able to create a new world. He looked out across "the distant sea" and had faith. From this vantage ground he sat in judgment upon the present, and condemned everything that no longer hopes and fights, but is satisfied or desires to die. It was good that he came, and, himself an invalid and degenerate, preached the gospel of will, of power, and of health. Healthy men will appear, and from this message they will take that which is healthy: corrupt and degenerate tendencies will disappear because they are born unto death.

Nietzsche's whole life was a slow process of emancipation from Schopenhauer and Wagner, to whom, as a student, he had abandoned himself both in body and soul. At first the young professor dedicated all his writings to the cause of his two prophets. He entered the lists for Schopenhauer the "educator," against Strauss "the tempter." In his book on the *Birth of*

Tragedy he sacrificed to Richard Wagner a goodly portion of his academic prospects. The reaction against this excessive homage came in the middle of the 'seventies through the general impressions of his own life and his closer acquaintance with Positivism and Darwinism. His later years were filled with a conflict for life or death with the old gods. Into this conflict he put his best power; and, it is but fair to say, he was never again just in his attitude towards Schopenhauer, Wagner—or Christianity. He had never learned to look upon Christianity otherwise than as he found it in the pietistic education given him by his parents, supplemented by the exposition of his two teachers. Now that he achieved his independence, all three came under the same condemnation. "I saw at once the real contrast: the tendency to degeneration which, with a hidden vindictiveness, wars against life (Christianity; the philosophy of Schopenhauer; in a certain sense even that of Plato, and all typical Idealism); and, on the other hand, an attitude of the highest assertion, born from superabundance, an absolute affirmation without restriction, even of suffering, even of guilt, of the doubtful and the strange in life." Asceticism is decadence, renunciation of life, and this is disease; and in consequence to be fought against: genuine Christianity is asceticism, other Christianity is hypocrisy. That is, in short, how the matter seemed to him in the first place.

Christianity is love, love is sympathy—that is the second thing: such was the view he obtained of the ethics of Christianity from Schopenhauer and Wagner. Then he carried his analysis further: sympathy is the most subtle form of the desire for power, the feeling of the supremacy of the healthy in relation to the sick: sympathy is hypocritical self-love—and that is all. He was led to this conclusion by his own experiences, to which, in his excited manner and with his acute logic, he gave a generalised form, and, apparently, irresistible grounds. These experiences were of the tormenting nature of being the object of sympathy: for Nietzsche was frequently ill. The witness of his sister is that: "My brother could penetrate deeply into the minds of men, and association with them was often a source of great hardship to

him. Through his frequent illness he became an object of attention, a prey to those wishing to show sympathy. How few really knew how to help him with their attention! Just because he was by nature so grateful, he would become embittered that people made so much fuss about their so-called attention, but gave themselves no trouble to find out what were his particular wishes and to fulfil them. He felt that these people only really thought to show how good and self-sacrificing they were. Many a hard word against the sympathetic is to be traced back to the insulting thoughtlessness of those who wished to do him kindnesses."

Along with these motives were others. His sharp eye showed him that Christianity, as found among the masses, is still very different from its own real character. We have formed a confused morality of compromise which, along with love to one's neighbour and fidelity to one's vocation, has attempted to justify even the duel, not to mention war, as "Christian." His sincere nature was shocked by this hypocrisy and he rebelled against it.

His preaching of self-love was in part due to his doubt of the possibility and the validity of the maxim to love one's neighbour, with the apparently enormous demand this maxim makes against the formula "An eye for an eye! A tooth for a tooth!"

Those are the roots from which his criticism of Christianity grew, so far as that criticism is other than a rejection of the belief in God and immortality, so common in our age, and seldom justified by him, and then hardly through ideas developed by himself. Only he who constantly keeps these facts before his mind can successfully oppose this criticism and at the same time make the best use of it—that is, learn from it. From such an opponent much may be learnt: the penetration of an enemy sees weaknesses very clearly.

Although he placed the gospel so much higher than Christianity, yet, under the point of view of Schopenhauer, he always regarded it as a Buddhistic movement for peace. For the person of Jesus he had respect. If one puts aside the "Ass' Festival," the vulgarity of which, from an otherwise noble man, must

perhaps be accounted for as due to the approach of his mental disease, he never misused or mocked the sayings of Jesus. It must, however, be remembered that he always regarded as spurious all sayings that did not seem to be in the direction of Buddhism, and concerning Christianity he said his harshest things. But concerning Jesus he let Zarathustra say: "Too early died that Hebrew whom the preachers of slow death revere: and his dying too early hath been fatal for many since.

"Jesus, the Hebrew, knew only the tears and melancholy of the Hebrew, together with the hatred of the good and the just—and a longing for death came suddenly upon him.

"Would that he had remained in the desert and far away from the good and the just! Perhaps he would have learnt how to live and to love the earth—and how to laugh besides!

"Believe me, my brethren! He died too early; he himself would have revoked his doctrine, had he reached my age! Noble enough to revoke he was!

"He was still unripe. Unripely the youth loveth, and unripely also he hateth man and earth. Fettered and heavy are still his mind and the wings of his spirit.

"But in a man there is more of a child than in a youth and less melancholy: he better understandeth how to manage life and death."

In *Antichrist*, Nietzsche emphasised less the youthful than the "decadent" in Jesus: "Fear of pain, even of the infinitely small in pain—that could end in nothing but a religion of love . . ." Jesus was to him "the most interesting of degenerates, with the greatest attraction of such a mixture of the sublime, the feeble, and the childlike." "He speaks merely of the inmost things: 'life,' 'truth,' or 'light' are his expressions for the inmost things—everything else, the whole of Reality, the whole of Nature, language itself, has for him merely the value of a sign or a symbol. . . . Such a symbolism *par excellence* stands outside of all religion, all concepts of worship, all history, all Natural Science, all experience of the world, all knowledge, all politics, all psychology, all books, all art—the 'knowledge' of Jesus is just the

pure folly that there should be anything of that kind. Civilisation is not even known to him by hearsay; he has no need of any struggle against it—he does not negate it. The same is true of the State, of the whole civil order, of society, of labour, of war; he never had any reason to negate the 'world'; he never had any idea of the ecclesiastical conception of the 'world.'"

"In the entire psychology of the gospels, the concepts of guilt and punishment are lacking; similarly the concept of reward. 'Sin,' every relation of distance between God and man is transcended—*it is just that, which is the glad tidings.* Blessedness is not promised: it does not depend upon conditions; it is the *sole* reality—the rest is symbolism for speaking of it."

It is a "practice," a type of life that Jesus left us: "The profound instinct for the problem *how to live* in order to feel one's self 'in heaven,' to feel one's self 'eternal,' while in every other relation one feels that one is not in the least 'in heaven': this alone is the psychological reality of 'salvation.' A new mode of conduct, not a new faith."

"This 'bringer of glad tidings' died as he had lived, as he had taught—not to 'save men,' but to show them how they ought to live. What is important is the attitude he revealed to mankind, his behaviour before the judges, before the lictors, before his accusers, and in presence of every kind of calumny and mockery—his behaviour on the cross. He does not resist; he does not defend his right; he takes no step to avert from himself the extremest consequences; yet more, *he exacts them.* . . . And he entreats; he suffers; he loves—with those, in those, who do him wrong. . . . Not to defend himself; not to be angry; not to condemn. . . . Not even to resist an evil one—but to love him. . . .

"We see what came to an end with the death on the cross: a new thoroughly original commencement of an actual, not merely promised, *happiness on earth.*"

Nietzsche always thought that his conception of Jesus was the correct one, acquired by historical methods and philological criticism. In reality it was developed only from the gospel of

John, where Jesus speaks of 'light' and 'life,' and from passages such as that in Isa. liii. concerning the lamb, that, led to the slaughter, opened not its mouth: that is, it was simply the pietistic conception of Jesus of his early years transformed buddhistically. The historic Jesus was quite different. The criticism that Nietzsche made use of to distinguish the "genuine" from the "spurious" in the alleged words of Jesus, was really nothing but the judgment of his own taste and moral consciousness: it was never based upon historical consideration of the existing sources. Of this we shall have more to say later.

Naumann's Franciscan Jesus.

Naumann also became a typical and effective champion of this conception of Jesus. He describes in his beautiful book on Asia how, when on a journey, he experienced an inner crisis which had long been coming. A close occupation with practical problems, political questions, and the materialistic conception of history held by so many Socialists, apparently made him doubt that the new world for which he strove could be realised by change of motives and feelings. The realistic tendencies in politics came like an icy breeze over the glow of his first enthusiasm. Along with this, the study of theology seemed to disclose with increasing distinctness a Jesus who no longer resembled a reforming fellow countryman, but rather Saint Francis, the poor ascetic, as Paul Sabatier had at that time described him, after the manner of Renan's Jesus, with all the grace of French style, to the rapture of the whole of æsthetic Europe. Everything in this now uncivilised and desolate Palestine, which Naumann confused with the home of Jesus, seemed to him to speak of an uncivilised enthusiast. In his easy manner Naumann has described the development of his new knowledge. "One day when on the stony way from Nablus to Jerusalem, a fellow traveller ventured the question whether Jesus, who as far as we know came along that road twice, rode or walked. Either was equally possible; yet, whether he walked

or rode on this path, we have something inconsistent with that which we have up to now represented to ourselves concerning Jesus: the path makes the difference. Jesus walked and rode on such paths without doing anything to improve them. . . . The Jesus we have hitherto thought of went about in an ordered land. And in such a land he required justice between rich and poor through the spirit of brotherhood. That he was in a land in which the first principles of social progress were wanting, and that he did not talk of the necessity of such progress, became clear to me as, with the eyes of a traveller in Palestine, I began to read the New Testament. There rose up before me the reality of the greatest value: the earthly helper who sees all kinds of human needs.

"Was the attitude of Jesus with regard to these paths 'Toleration' or 'Renewal'? Had he our ideal of civilisation and of culture? *Had he any idea of culture at all?* Did he wish to help to eradicate poverty from Palestine, or did he wish to heal the physical misfortunes through alms and miracles? Hitherto I had seen in every helping, organising, social activity a continuance of the life of Jesus. Much remains true in this representation, but in Palestine it lost for me its certainty.

"The heart of Jesus does not become smaller when it is thought of in Palestine. His heart is love to the poor; conflict against the oppressor; joy in the awakening of the immature. But the way in which he strove to realise the desire of the heart is further than we thought from the humanitarian activity of our age." After thus treating of Jesus' lack of culture, Naumann also asks the question whether we should follow his asceticism; and he has answered with an emphatic negative. This is remarkable, for Naumann himself is ascetic in the sense of Jesus, who "ate and drank," for he denied himself when he gave up his position as a minister of religion to follow entirely his most inward call. He puts this question before us in a poetic manner: "Who is that who sits there where the ship's cables lie twisted like shells? I should know him; for I have already met him once in life. He does not belong to this place, for he is a beggar and a foolish

man! On a ship there should be simply servants, officials, and passengers in good clothes. What does the holy Francis want here? His smile is strange. Formerly I could tolerate it better than now, because then I did not notice it was not the fresh laugh of a child, not the laugh of a child of God or of the devil. Why does the spirit always laugh so upon the sombre ship? For more than six hundred years we have known the spirit of Saint Francis and yet we have never been true to it. The beggar attracted the young more and more to him and said to them: Poor as Jesus, serve the poor. But when the young came to know life, they became more practical, served the Church or the State, the family or business, or went into organised monasteries, but they could not preserve the original, wild foolishness, the blind spirit of the beggar Saint Francis. Francis is surprised that I drink wine at tables. He considers that to be unchristian. He came upon the ship only to say his little motto: Let the poor serve the poor. I begin to answer him, that he had no means of getting rid of poverty, that he is in part responsible for the pious beggars of Italy; that he understands nothing of work, political economy, and progress; that his method is nothing but a deluding attempt to explain away misery which he could not overcome—there he was mistaken, for Saint Francis is not much at logic. He went through the fog over the water to Naples, where there will always be beggars who prefer a copper coin, and to spend the morning in the sun on the beautiful beach, rather than endure methodical and practical Socialism."

In these half-jocular words are hidden difficult problems, inward conflicts, and decisions on the meaning of life. But Naumann does not leave Jesus. He finds the significance of Jesus as a saviour with regard to the spiritual alone. "It is not easy to retain one's belief after having seen Palestine: nevertheless, there is no other saviour but he from Palestine. . . . We have Jesus, we shall keep him. We must overcome the difficulties that are involved in the fact that he belonged to another race and another age. After Jesus there is no new religion, but only occasions of decline. He was final for the religion of the world,

as Buddha was for India and China. Along with Jesus and Buddha is Mahommed. Between these three alone lies the religious conflict of universal history. Our position in this conflict is established. For a thousand years Western Europe has declared itself on the side of Jesus. We will and must fight for him. . . . We will, if it is necessary, leave the holy grave to the Turks, but we shall not cease to live from the sacred spirit of Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever!"

Such, then, is Naumann's position: so far as he works for the welfare of the people, he takes a painful farewell of the uncultured Asiatic; but, so far as he seeks health for his own soul in relation to God, he clings to Jesus' holiness of spirit. That in the long run this attitude must prove untenable is clear. If Jesus was full of love to the poor, then our new methods are demanded by him, even though he never directly pointed them out. If he is only a saviour for the ultimate things of life, if as our Lord he does not give us an ideal for all our hours of joy and of work, he will vanish as a phantom from our lives.

Jesus or Buddha?

Does Jesus really deserve the praise or the charge that ultimately he is nothing but a disciple of Buddha, and his gospel nothing but Buddha's philosophy of redemption? Were we justified in our previous attempt to sketch a Jesus whose fundamental nature and ideas involved a positive solution of the social question, carrying us above the world yet grappling with it? Was he not really an ascetic fleeing from the world—a wandering preacher devoid of home and possessions?

If we wish to answer these questions scientifically, we must first distinguish between two things: the gospel of Jesus itself, and the accounts about Jesus in which, as we have already maintained with Strauss, are reflected popular myths and sagas.

The legends concerning Buddha, as R. Seydel has contended,

certainly show striking parallels with the narratives of the gospels. Buddha was a child born supernaturally from a virgin: his birth was announced to the mother by dream and oracle, and was accompanied by a peculiar appearance of stars. At Buddha's appearance the voices of angels declared the salvation of the world. Gods, kings, and Brahmin appeared with presents; divine nymphs brought to the mother incense and myrrh. An old prophet, the Brahmin Asita, predicted that the child would become a Buddha. The child was brought with rejoicing into the temple, and so on.

On the other hand, the contrasts between the two accounts are very great; as great as the difference between oriental and occidental imagination. We give exactly after Seydel the passage in which the two stories coincide most, in order to show the difference. At the court of the king Suddhodama wonderful signs preceded the descent of the divine. The house became clean from weeds, vermin, and dirt; many birds, especially birds of augury, came down upon the house chirping; flowers of another season of the year blossomed; ponds were covered with countless lotus flowers; provisions of food remained unexhausted; musical instruments though untouched produced sound; all vessels and precious objects radiated a magnificent brilliancy; the house was surrounded on all sides by a clear bright light that made the sun and moon seem dark, and caused physical and mental agitation. The holy virgins in the kingdom of the god of love ornamented themselves most beautifully and, seized by curiosity, hurried to Kapilavasta, surrounded the Mayadevi (Buddha's mother), and sang their song of praise. The resolution of the Buddha to enter the body of the Mayadevi in the form of a white elephant is put into effect, while she, asleep, dreams of the appearance of such an elephant. The Brahmin explain the dream thus: Thou shalt be filled with highest joy. A son shall be born to you whose body shall be bedecked with significant signs, a noble offspring of royal race, a high-minded king of kings, and so on.

Although these last words sound so much like Luke i. 29–33,

the spirit of the whole is different; for example: the god enters the mother as a white elephant. When we realise the extent of the differences we are forced to admit that a direct dependence of one narrative upon the other is a quite impossible theory. It would seem more probable that the similarity of motive in the legends goes back to an ancient common source. This is not, as Strauss supposed, an Old Testament story, but a primæval story of the gods from Asia Minor. It circulated in many forms, was transferred to many heroes, and was ascribed to the new religious geniuses, in India with imposing Hindu imagination, and in Christendom with weak western phantasy. Seydel has given us some important ideas and parallels in this connection: but in principle we are not led beyond the "mythical" conception of the stories of Jesus.

Only through utmost carelessness, or in a way leading directly to error, can appeal be made to Seydel in support of the assertion of a relationship between Jesus and Buddha, or even of a dependence of the former upon the latter. The gospel and Buddhism are, as Seydel also admits, fundamentally different. "He who, after the previous discussion, should expect to identify Christianity with Buddhism must see that such a procedure would be delusory. Even a superficial treatment, notwithstanding all the similarities of the fundamental idea, sayings, and moral commandments, cannot but lead to the recognition of a deep-reaching difference between the two, which shows the more complete revelation of God to be on the side of Christianity." These words of Seydel's are in agreement with the opinion of Oldenberg, from whose excellent book on Buddha we take the following quotations. H. St. Chamberlain also, in contrast with his master, Wagner, has developed correct ideas on the relation of Jesus to Buddha.

Without doubt Buddha and Jesus, in opposition to a worldly optimism, are in this at one, that both maintain that the world is not "the best of all possible worlds," but must become quite other than it is, if we are to feel happy in it.

When we look more closely we see immediately the great

gulf between Buddha and Jesus. If Buddha is asked what the "world" is, he answers: Nature; if Jesus is asked, his answer is: Man. If he is asked what prevents man from being happy, Buddha answers: In the first place, suffering; Jesus answers: Before all else, impurity of heart, bad thoughts, and the love of mammon. The two religions are thus profoundly differentiated.

Long before the time of Buddha, pessimism had already become common in the culture-satiated land of his home. Weary of the restless haste after those trivialities of this life in which men thought to find real happiness, many had accepted the wisdom of the senile—that all is vanity, that all suffering and all happiness is but appearance and delusion. Many sought calm, bliss, eternity, the peace which the world does not give—nor even death; for death is only the transition to a new, higher or lower life, to which the wandering soul goes.

In the midst of his luxurious life the fear of death came over Buddha. He had had the education of a son of a Hindu prince, had a beloved wife and a small son, and lived in one of those wonderful Hindu palaces, with their mysterious gardens and beautiful lotus ponds, in the enjoyment of all the joys that our world can give. But heavy dreams came upon him: he longed for something eternal; he desired to escape from that anxiety that springs from the highest earthly joys, that bitter anxiety of losing happiness. Legend relates that Buddha made four excursions; during the last of which the past met him in three forms, as an old man, as an invalid, and as death, and that finally he met the fortune of blessed calm in the form of a monk in yellow garments. Whether the legend is true or not, through his anxiety for his happiness he lost happiness, so he tried to find peace in severe penance. He found, however, that while his heart called for pleasure and happiness, the life of a monk did not bring peace and bliss. After a struggle lasting seven years, there came to him one night the saving knowledge of suffering and of the release from suffering. "This, O monks, is the sacred truth of suffering: Birth is suffering; old age is suffering; to be united with the unloved is suffering; to be separated from the loved is

suffering; not to obtain what one desires is suffering; in short, the fivefold clinging (to the earthly [1]) is suffering.

"This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the origin of suffering: It is the thirst for being which leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire which finds gratification here and there: the thirst for pleasures, the thirst for being, the thirst for power.

"This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the extinction of suffering: the extinction of this thirst by complete annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating one's self from it, giving it no room.

"This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the path which leads to the extinction of suffering: it is this sacred, eightfold path, to wit: Right Faith, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Deed, Right Life, Right Effort, Right Thought, Right Self-concentration."

Warning is given of two other ways: the way of pleasure and the way of self-mortification. "There are two extremes, O monks, from which he who leads a religious life must abstain. What are those two extremes? One is a life of pleasure, devoted to desire and enjoyment: that is base, ignoble, unspiritual, unworthy, unreal. The other is a life of self-mortification: it is gloomy, unworthy, unreal. The Perfect One, O monks, is removed from both these extremes, and has discovered the way which lies between them, the middle way which enlightens the eyes, enlightens the mind, which leads to rest, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana."

It is with wonderful power that the Buddhist preacher can describe life as suffering. While Schopenhauer attracts attention as a malicious critic of life, these Hindu souls press upon man's heart psalms of pain, which in the monotonous rhythm of their language have an inner accord with the restless gnawing of suffering. The outlook of the Buddhist seems limited: in the midst of all the bustle of this glittering life he sees but one dark way, and that leading out to suffering and death.

[1] The clinging to the five elements of which man's body-cum-spirit state consists: corporeal form, sensations, perceptions, aspirations, and consciousness.

Jesus is quite different. He, it is true, also knew the cry of the psalmist, that our life passeth away like the grass, that to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven; that precious though it be, it is little but anxiety and work. But when did he speak the things or give expression to such feelings as the Judaism of his time knew too well? His belief in the end of the world was not based on pessimism, but on moral elevation: if ye do not improve, ye also will die. He hesitated and trembled in face of death, but more because death seemed to refute his work and his message than because he feared to die. He had made some preparations for death, and he required his disciples to accept the fact without complaint or grief. Let the dead bury the dead. Suffering may be good as a means to serve others. He himself conceived his life thus: "The Son of Man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life as a ransom for many." The words that we have here may be those of the disciples; the spirit is that of Jesus.

Not suffering but sin troubled the soul of Jesus when he came to preach: Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Those to whom he came were prodigal sons who, in a far country, beat their breasts and said, "I will arise and go to my Father." The whole preaching of Jesus was nothing but an exposition of the words: "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." In all his teaching there is the thought that the greatest evil for men is not death, nor life, but guilt. For this reason the teaching of the gospel concerning God and salvation is absolutely different from the teaching of Buddhism on these things.

Before Buddha made his appearance the old polytheism in India had died away in pantheism; but a god that was only the life of the Whole aroused neither hopes nor fears in human hearts, neither awe nor real love. At the most He comforted the human heart that tossed restlessly in suffering and joy, like the calm of the view from a height over a wide valley, like the breath of a deep, primæval forest. This God played no further part in Buddha's life: a world of suffering without God took its place, and for Buddhism salvation is only annihilation, Nirvana, the

final death after all the wanderings of the soul. But no religion suffices that simply looks to the future alone. Religion as it is experienced is salvation is *this* life. The Buddhist attained this salvation in those infrequent moments of highest ecstasy in which he felt himself fade in the calm conviction of nonentity. In Buddhism, ecstasy is the highest point, the aim of life, as it is also in many lower religions and in monastic Christianity.

Even if Jesus himself experienced ecstasy, he did not regard it as the highest point of religious experience. The aim that his faith pointed out to him was not the hope of annihilation, but life and a better world of purity and happiness, the advent of the kingdom of God. What a man has from the religion of Jesus in the present is the joyful assurance that God takes him, a sinner, in his fatherly arms; pardons him; wills to make him a child of God in goodness and purity; aids him; feeds and clothes him. Be ye not anxious! Fear not! And be not overjoyed that spirits are subject unto you: that disease vanishes before the power of your faith: but that your names are written in heaven. Not the sinking into the godhead in a sort of ecstasy, but affectionate trusting communion with God, prayer to the "Our Father" in calm confidence of soul; that is piety as Jesus felt it.

Was not Jesus in practice an ascetic, like Buddha? Did he not leave house and home, even though it was not a Hindu prince's palace, but a poor man's dwelling? When his brothers and sisters and his mother came to him to bring him home from his dangerous course, did he not relieve himself of them with the hard words (Mark iii. 31–35), "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother"?

Did he not require a similar sacrifice from his disciples? Luke xiv. 26: "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

Did he not himself abstain from marriage, and in his saying about the "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" seek not only to make his own conduct intelligible, but also to recommend

it to others? Matt. xix. 11 ff.: "All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. . . . He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

Did he not become so poor that he had not even what the birds and the foxes have, a place to lay his head? And did he not forbid his disciples gold and silver, wallet and staff, and changes of clothing? Culture, and its goods, he neither had nor valued. Moths consume costly clothes, and the rust eats away costly treasures, that is what he knows of these things. If he had known how many millions can be spent in paintings, would he not have said that the paint will dry, crack, and fall away, and mice will gnaw the canvas? Is there not a criticism of all culture in the saying: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and thereby lose his own soul"?

Yes, and nevertheless Jesus was not an ascetic in Buddha's sense. For Buddha, asceticism is the way of redemption—redemption itself. That which men call happiness is to be renounced; the thirst for happiness is to be killed; the self is to be separated from everything that brings joy; every desire is to be entirely subdued: then there will remain no point of attack for suffering. A serene calmness of soul is the result. He who has nothing and wishes for nothing can lose nothing. There are also other grounds for asceticism: sometimes it is conceived as self-mortification, and is practised in the hope of attaining thereby another kind of bliss. Buddha pursued it in this sense for seven years before light came to him. It was in this form that it made its appearance in the Catholic monastic orders. At other times asceticism has formed a factor in moral education, as a means of keeping the body in subjection. This use of asceticism is not without dangers even though a man such as Luther recommended it. Finally, asceticism may be a service of love for those around. Paul, for example, practised it for the sake of the weak; and in the same way many advocates of temperance in the use of intoxicants practise total abstinence to help others by their example. Jesus practised this kind of asceticism to the highest degree: that was his conception of renunciation. To him renunciation

is suffering, not joy; pain, not bliss. There is pain in the words about the foxes having holes while he had nowhere to lay his head. He surrendered everything that he had, just as the merchant gave up everything to buy a precious pearl. His life of renunciation, and his death, come under the same principle of "service." Jesus has left to us an example of something that we must be able to do—to take upon ourselves suffering for the love of others. As to when any individual may be called upon to suffer for others is another question. Jesus made the demand upon his disciples and once upon the rich young man: we are left something more difficult —to decide for ourselves. Jesus knew well that to which Nietzsche has so aptly given expression: "My brother, if you have a virtue, and it is *your* virtue, then you have it in common with no one else."

There is not simply one true system of morality, as many Protestant theologians suppose, nor a twofold ethic, as the teaching of the Catholic Church implies, but each has his own morality derived from the only true source—from love. In this is to be found the explanation of the diverse demands that Jesus made of men. To one who would manifest his love to his dead father he said, "Let the dead bury their dead"; to another who would give his gift not to his parents but to God, he said that he acted contrary to God's command, that he should honour his father and mother. Jesus is full of contradictions to those who think they know everything better than he. And why? Just because morality is an art, the most delicate of all, the most personal. Yet it is the art open to the simplest men, indeed often to these more than to those who pursue many arts, and in consequence wander from the true aim of life. Not as a way of redemption, not as salvation from culture, nor as a "charming idyll" on the shore of the blue sea, did Jesus practise asceticism, but as the highest proof of striving self-sacrificing love.

Again and again it is maintained that, with regard to morality at least, Buddhism and the gospel are one. The five fundamental commands of Buddhism—to kill no living being; not to take the property of another; not to desire another man's wife; not to

lie; not to drink intoxicating liquors—do, in fact, almost all stand in the Decalogue. In the New Testament also may be found passages that are almost word for word identical with Buddhist sayings. "Let a man overcome anger by not becoming angry; let a man overcome evil with good; let a man overcome the parsimonious by generosity; let a man overcome the liar with truth" (cf. Rom. xii. 21). "He has abused me; he has struck me; he has oppressed me; he has robbed me—in those who do not entertain such thoughts enmity comes to an end. For enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below; it comes to an end by non-enmity; this has been the rule from eternity." Though these words may remind us of Jesus' teaching concerning love towards enemies, we must notice that they are quite differently conceived. Suffering should be banished from the world: therefore do not increase it! Do not cause suffering, that is the ethic of Buddhism. But in love to one's enemies, Jesus meant a real deed and an active sentiment. Love is real only when it makes men like God, who lets his sun shine upon friend and foe, upon good and evil, and sends his rain on the fields of the righteous and the unrighteous. We have to protect ourselves from nothing more than from the almost general confusion of the ideas of sympathy and love. In certain cases they may coincide, but in principle they are entirely different. Richard Wagner, though he conceived Christianity as the religion of sympathy, recognised clearly this distinction between sympathy and love, and once aptly described it: "What characterises compassion, however, is that its accesses are not determined by the suffering object's individual qualities, but just simply by the witnessed suffering itself. With love it is otherwise; with it we ascend to communion of joy, and we can share an individual's joy only when his or her qualities are in the highest degree agreeable or homogeneous to us. Among ordinary personalities this is far more lightly possible, because purely sexual feelings are almost solely at work here; but the nobler the nature, the more difficult the integration to the communion of joy, and if it succeed the highest is reached. On the contrary, compassion can bestow itself on the commonest

and meanest creature, a creature which apart from its suffering is in nothing sympathetic to us, ay, is positively antipathic to us in what it is able to enjoy. The cause of this in any case is infinitely deep, and if we espy it we see ourselves thereby raised above all stricter barriers of personality, for in the exercise of our compassion we encounter suffering itself, irrespective of personality. Just this is what Jesus meant by love: joy even in the most miserable, imperfect, and most ill-treated men, and faith that these children of humanity are called to become sons of God." Wagner knows love only as something natural, especially in the highest love between man and woman. Is he right when he asserts that it is absurd to require this love towards all? Is Björnsen right in contending that Christianity by this requirement goes beyond our power? Can any one on account of a command such as "Thou shalt," *love* his enemy? No, certainly not. Love cannot be commanded; deeds alone can be commanded.

But in opposition to this we may put the question whether we should not attain something much higher if by any way we could succeed in having such love to all; would it not be something much higher than sympathy? Why did Nietzsche hate sympathy so much? Because it involves something debasing. Even the noblest soul cannot show sympathy without feeling his superiority, without approaching the other at least in the knowledge of being the giver. If we ask ourselves whether we really want sympathy, we shall at once answer in the negative. There is something painful and inadequate in the idea. Love brings nothing but good, for it gives to the one who is loved the happy feeling to be something to the other, to have aroused love in him, not merely in receiving his love, but in the very act of taking and giving. In love, to give is truly more blessed than to receive. Love in Jesus' sense is not a sympathising and a condoling of the misery of others; it calls man to service, and gives him confidence. Jesus did not grieve that his disciples would have to suffer, but instead called them blessed. Love would see the other perfect: it trusts and demands, expects and hopes. And it is thus that it makes those happy who have part in it; it makes all better, raises them

to higher things and educates them, while sympathy easily debases and always weakens all concerned in it.

Must we renounce the highest love as the best morality because it is beyond our present power? Why we joyfully answer the question in the negative shall be seen later. At present we wish to suggest that this Christian love, though in its perfection beyond human power as we know it, beyond what is attainable by man through exertion of will, is nevertheless rooted in the quite natural and universal feeling that man experiences for man, and that can be aroused again even though it may have been long dormant. It must certainly blossom up more strongly than it is at present if it is to remove all selfishness from the heart. In the sunny warmth of Jesus' faith in God and with serious conflict with sin in our own hearts this will come about of itself. Under the influence of Jesus, springs up in us an undreamed-of source of power, a mystery to ourselves, the power of love and joy in man, and of a faith in him for which everything is possible. The personality of Jesus produces the same impression. If courage, freshness, and sincerity constitute the nature of a hero, then Jesus was a hero. He was not a youth longing for death, as Nietzsche described him, but a man. We do not know how old he was when he came publicly before his countrymen. The suggestion of Luke, "about thirty years," is rather too low, as is revealed by many traces in the gospels. There is another tradition according to which Jesus was fifty years old. Even if Luke is right, thirty years in the East represents more than with us. Jesus was a mature and a heroic man when he came forward. For there is a higher heroism than that of the man who can fight and die in the breath of battle with a weapon in his hand. It is more difficult and greater to take up in the life of every day the fight against stupidity and vulgarity, and to continue faithful unto death.

The hero is before all the truthful man, who braces himself up against meanness and bigotry. Jesus, in his disputes with the Pharisees, spoke with flaming words of holy scorn. The hero is fearless. The opponents of Jesus wished to catch him in his words,

or make them serve their own ends; once they came to him with an assumed reverence and flattering words, saying to him, the uneducated carpenter, "Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth; and carest not for any one: for thou regardest not the person of men." His perception of truth was too keen for him to be deceived thus, and he replied, "Why tempt ye me?" (Mark xii. 14). He was just as opposed to flattery as to threats; thus he went his way of conflict against those who shut off from the poor the way of God, make it, in fact, impossible; thus he fought against all hypocrisy and pretence. He went this way because he did not fear those who could bring suffering to the body; and because he was indifferent to slander that would rob him of his good name. As he did not take the way of asceticism, as did John the Baptist, his critics, with a pious glance upward, said: "Lo, a glutton and a wine-bibber." Jesus knew them, and he told them frankly that they could always help themselves by a word of abuse: they had said that John was possessed of a devil. It did not trouble him at all when they called him the friend of publicans and sinners; he went to outcasts, because they had need of him. Growing from inner purity and power, this indifference to malicious criticism, to the talk of those who thought themselves blamelessly correct, and the sneers of the "righteous," had on the reverse side the wonderful attention to the hearts of those who were oppressed and dejected. Along with this attitude of Jesus to his critics we might consider the story that stands to-day in the gospel of John, though belonging previously to the gospel of the Hebrews, the story of the woman who was an adulteress (John viii. 1–11). Jesus hesitated for a moment when they asked him whether the woman should be stoned according to the severe commandment of Moses. He stooped down and wrote with his finger on the ground. But he soon won the victory, to stand against the law and against the anger of the "righteous." He stood up and said to them: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." There must have been a quiet atmosphere of the power of purity and heroism, if the

gospel is correct in the further report that they who had wished to condemn her now went out one by one, till Jesus lifted his head again and saw that he was alone with the woman: "Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way, from henceforth sin no more."

Buddhism is inhuman and unnatural. It is simply not true that all life is suffering: there are high and pure joys in life that do not lead us from true happiness, but make us mature for it, because they make us more profound and dignified. What speaks to us in Buddhism is a nervousness that has become a "second nature"—in reality a perversion of nature. The redemption that it offers is but the extreme nervous excitement of ecstasy. Whether the nervous degeneration of the Hindus produced Buddhism, or whether Buddhism is the cause of the degeneration of the peoples of the East, the fact is clear that the peoples who are given over to Buddhism are in the last stage of decay. Catholicism has taken over, from ancient degeneration, asceticism and flight from the world, and Catholic nations stand far behind Protestant peoples with their ideal of overcoming the world. Here we cannot consider at length the doctrine of the transmigration of souls with which Buddhism stands or falls. If there were no transmigration of souls in the theory of Buddhism, resignation to the transitory would be best, and suicide the quickest way of redemption. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls is no longer tenable in face of modern knowledge, as it would not require long to show. For this reason Schopenhauer substituted for it another theory which, however, by itself would not prevent the individual from taking the way of suicide. Schopenhauer pointed out an *active* happiness—pure reflection and pure art. With this he has almost taken the heart out of his pessimism. In any case, in this happiness the individual has again a reason for "willing to live."

From all that is unnatural, false, and neurotic, Jesus is free. If he did not know that boisterous joy of life which Luther knew, he saw the good and the beautiful in life, and where he met it he enjoyed it. He ate and drank, and as Luther, could not escape

the charge of the monks and devotees that he was "a glutton and a wine-bibber." He had a sense of humour, as we see by his sayings and parables, as, for example, that of the man who would add a cubit to his stature. He who was able to describe with such charm the soliloquy of the rich fool, and could sketch with such irony the sly rascal of a householder, has painted the picture of the cross friend disturbed from his sleep, with the children in bed; and the accompanying story of the old woman who filled the ears of the unjust judge and scratched his face, has indeed not forgotten how to laugh. That Jesus could find such stories for the most holy things, shows how healthy and strong he was spiritually, and how confident and happy. One who is not strong in faith and is not thoroughly convinced of his own earnestness, cannot speak with such humour of God and man. Many of the pious among us look upon these things falsely. Further, to Jesus the growing seed did not announce that it ripened only to fall under the stroke of the scythe, but that where the sower had tarried the earth and God's sun would bring forth the golden corn. The fall of the sparrow from the roof did not suggest to him that everything must suffer and die, but that nothing happens without the will of the heavenly Father. The cry of the ravens in winter brought no prediction of hunger and starvation, but rather aroused the thought, "yet your heavenly Father feedeth them." The world has two sides; and all depends on how we view them. Jesus sees both with eyes wide open, and that is why, though his judgment is so severe, he does not lose his faith in man. For his glance the whole of Nature glows with radiant freshness. He loved most, flowers, birds, and children. Again and again they are symbols of the highest that he knows: "If ye do not become as little children, as the lilies, as the ravens, as the wheat of the field!"

That is Jesus: not a tired, nervous degenerate with a countenance drawn with pain, but a sincere, heroic man, gentle and full of love and goodness, with a heart filled with triumphant faith in God who talks to him in the growth of the wheat, in the breathing of the wind, in the look of a child. He is at enmity

with nothing human and natural; he is most inwardly near to it.

Finally, if we wish to know the attitude Jesus would have taken to art and science, if he had known them, we must recognise that he was himself a poet. He to whom things so spoke, and spoke so truly; he who could preserve their message in such wonderful parables and sayings, was a genuine poet. A man so sincere and so courageous is an example for every real worker in science. For, behind and above all tradition of methods in science, the highest is something that cannot be handed on: sincerity and real greatness of character. Woe to him that is only an expert and has little character, to whom not truth but lower aims are the chief motives of his work. He who will may seek from this point of view standards for art and science which are in accord with the spirit of Jesus. It is not Christian ideas and subjects that make art Christian, but the spirit in which a thing is regarded; not ecclesiastical or "Christian" results make science Christian, but the spirit of the work, the courage to seek the truth and to say it when it is found.

The gospel is neither philosophy nor Buddhistic self-redemption, but faith in the Father, the desire for redemption from guilt through His forgiveness, and the heartfelt love to men that leads to work for them, to work against suffering of every kind. In this, now that we no longer share the belief in the imminent end of the world, we feel ourselves justified, by application of the spirit of Jesus, in making social demands. Not asceticism for itself, but to follow Jesus in the service of love, in a love that under certain circumstances calls indeed for asceticism, a love that must be faithful even in suffering and death: that is the Christian ideal.

Only by living into and striving to realise this ideal will the evils of civilisation be transcended. We cannot go back: to do so would lead to barbarism and the death of our western spiritual and moral culture, which is the highest that man has achieved. We must rise above civilisation. We cannot allow it to continue our master, making us wearied, neurotic, and degenerate through

pleasure and work. We must make it more moral, so that in turn it may become a true help to the training of genuine sons of God.

Above all the turmoil of civilisation are written the words of Jesus: "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted"; "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

CHAPTER VI.

JESUS AND THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION OF THE PRESENT TIME.

EVIL is not to be remedied by altering the kind of disease: the torment of civilisation is not to be overcome by asceticism and renunciation. Social endeavour and the best organisation are not in themselves sufficient to revive a people weary of external culture. There must be a change of personal disposition: there must be faith.

Religion is an essential possession of the human soul. There may be some who call themselves atheists, and who regard themselves as non-religious, but their attitude is, as a rule, finally but the rejection of specific religions. Piety is as natural as thought, as self-evident as artistic feeling, as inclusive as moral judgment.

Two experiences draw us again and again to religion, or perhaps rather, show us that we are religious by nature: the life of the world around us, and the eternal ethical longing of our hearts. No one has expressed this more deeply than Goethe:

"Him, who dare name,
And who proclaim,
Whom I believe?
Who that can feel
His heart can steel
To say: I believe Him not?
The All-embracer,
All-sustainer!
Holds and sustains He not,
Thee, me, Himself?
Lifts not the heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firm set earth beneath us lie?
Climb not the everlasting stars on high?

Do we not gaze into each other's eyes?
Nature's impenetrable agencies,
Are they not thronging on thy heart and brain
Viewless or visible to mortal ken,
Around thee weaving their mysterious chain?

Fill thence thy heart, how large soe'er it be;
And in the feeling when thou utterly art blest:
Then call it what thou willst—
Call it Bliss! Heart! Love! God!
I have no name for it!
'Tis feeling all:
Name is but sound and smoke
Shrouding the glow of heaven."

In this sense religion is as natural to man as the perception of the beautiful and the good. There may be men who have no religious feelings, just as there are blind and deaf: religion, nevertheless, is a possession of mankind. Even the great opponent of all religions, Friedrich Nietzsche, saw in bright hours the secret of our life, and confessed his religion: "Behold what plenty is around us! And it is beautiful to gaze on distant seas in the midst of plenty. Once people said 'God' when they gazed on distant seas, now I have taught you to say 'Beyond man.'"

His opponents, the "Tarantela," agreeing with him as they do in leaving heaven "to the sparrows and the priests," are inspired by nothing else than faith. True, their faith is only in the promises of the State of the future, in which there will be no more suffering and no need, no more ills among the masses and no unemployment: a trust in the god of economic development, to which they commit the realisation of every aim that goes beyond their present power. Nevertheless it is a faith. To-day, when even this faith in the State is wavering, the young commence to mock the older believers. The young should remember wherein their own strength lies, and they should think of what is in the hearts of thousands who every springtime go on pilgrimage with red banners and ribbons to the cemetery of what has fallen in March. They should hear how many lips murmur: "If we do not see it—yet possibly our children will!" Even Buddhism, which is apparently without faith and reverence

in face of life, and seeks nothing beyond it, no God and no love, no new world, but only eternal re-incarnation in the world of suffering, and thus unending pain, is also in more than one sense religion. Does it not allow men to experience the same as religion does: the quiet rest of the soul in the certainty that there is an indestructible good that is entirely unaffected by suffering and the torment of death? It promises the soul power to bear all and to overcome all, and in spite of all that the world says, gives man the certainty that Nirvana is attainable, that in the nature of things themselves, transcending man, there rules a fate that punishes his sins with degeneration and does not diabolically deny him his highest longing to vanish into nothingness. That is religion, even positive faith.

Religion is that desire of life without which the soul of man dies. There may be men who have abandoned even this last hope, the faith that lies in Pessimism, the faith of Buddha and Schopenhauer, and can see in life nothing more than a malicious joke that somebody or other plays upon us. Doubt such as this has never been borne long by any one. Somewhere has risen some saving feature; some certainty has spoken from the depth of life to such doubting hearts. Yes, finally, even over frivolity, triumphs the longing for purity and for a place of rest.

That longing is the still small voice of religion. The longing that leads us beyond guilt and sin to desire purity and peace is of the essence of religion. It is the yearning for that which no eye hath seen nor ear heard, and which has come to no human heart; the need for that state in which there will be no more pain and lamentation, no want and no death. But in most men religion is something much greater and much more living. Frivolity, doubt, and desire are not the fundamental factors of man's nature. In the solitude of the primæval forests, in the worst slums of our great towns, men live with other feelings predominant. Religion is the reverence that man shows to the great universe, the supreme life that it suggests beyond it, and the deep secret that manifests itself within him. Religion is the reverence which we feel when conscious that the starry heaven

above us, and the eternal moral law within us, convey to us messages that seem like paternal love and counsel to our wayward hearts. Religion, finally, is the trust with which we in this world, with all its divisions, suffering, and sin, strive to build so that all things may lead to the best: the faith that the longing for the best carries a great assurance with it. It is a possession of man by which he is raised above the animal. Religion did not exist previous to the religions of history; it is not a sum of truths and fundamental propositions, as the "natural" religion of Rationalism, but a part of our life, the fundamental tone of all the harmonies of our conduct and experience. Religion itself is not and never will be a problem. When a man—even one without faith—probes deep enough, he meets it as the traveller finds the hidden water somewhere in the seemingly dried-up bed of a mountain stream.

The religious question is as old as humanity itself, but it continually assumes new forms. Religion is to be found only united with certain moral ideals and in or with a positive belief that grows out of a certain conception of the world. To prove this historically would not be difficult, but it must suffice here to refer to what has been said in the second and fourth chapters of this book. We are now occupied with the present time and our own needs. The question of religion has come upon us with peculiar force because we have experienced so great a change in the conception of the world that no earlier change can be compared with it. The conflict that has in consequence arisen around traditional religion, has led, finally, to the question of the ideal that it embodies, and it has not been Friedrich Nietzsche alone who has raised this question.

We have spoken of these things already, and there is no need to discuss them in greater detail. It is now universally agreed that the Copernican view of the world has robbed us of all that realm "above the bright blue sky," in which the ancients saw heaven, and with either pain or joy every one must reconcile himself to this loss. Evident as it is that the world has become easier and more beautiful since the devil and his crew,

sorcery and witches, have disappeared before the onward march of the historian and the natural scientist, and especially of doctors and pathologists, it is clear that faith in God has also begun to waver. The times when European peoples as a whole lived in the certainty of faith in God and another world are past. At the Reformation the question was so put as to leave these beliefs out of dispute. Even for the age of the Enlightenment as seen in its most famous advocates, the beliefs in God, freedom and responsibility, and the immortality of the soul stood firm. They were regarded as demonstrable truths; the "purpose" of the world and of individual things was the ground upon which men trusted to prove the existence of God to unbelievers. Or they assumed these beliefs at least as innate ideas which, as being held universally, were rational and true.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century all this has changed. The break-down of the world of ideas associated with our religion has been general. The destroyer of the rationalist proofs of God, Kant, thought it possible to maintain the three fundamental ideas, if not as demonstrable truths, still as necessary assumptions, as "postulates of the practical reason." He based his position upon the fact of the moral life in man: he required freedom as the basis of the possibility of a moral life, and God in order to equalise virtue and happiness in another life. Kant's followers in the leadership of philosophy were confident not merely that they were able to postulate, but by their speculation to find all truth beyond our world of sense and appearance. German Idealism abandoned the old belief in God and another world, but it thought it possible rationally and adequately to establish an eternal world of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. In the earlier Liberal theology this faith still lives. To it the reality of all ideal goods and of a higher world of purity and nobleness of heart is self-evident. Schleiermacher's prophetic proclamation of the eternal religion of the heart, of unity with the infinite in the midst of the finite, resounds within it. Liberal theology has generally held much more firmly than philosophy to the belief in the personality

of God, and in a real, personal continuance after death. The strength of its faith rested upon the natural certainty offered to it by German Idealistic speculation. The Liberal theologians, whose representation of Jesus has occupied us, were almost all ennobled by this Idealistic faith in the supersensuous world and by reverent submission to the final secret. They were the bold pious men whose deepest feeling Hart has expressed so delicately in the beautiful words that he wrote in 1829. "There are things that man must believe in order to be rational at all. Thus he believes in an infinite love above him, even if he has no other evidence for it than the love in his own breast and some friendly signs in Nature, that he interprets according to his heart's desire." In Carrière's discourses in Riehl's *Religious Studies of a Child of the World*, this evening sun of German Idealism smiles in all its golden loveliness.

The evening seems to us to have come. The cold, clear night surrounds us. The Good, the Beautiful, and the True no longer seem self-evident. Most who to-day regard themselves as men are in that state of spiritual nihilism which Nietzsche saw dawning upon Europe, if they have not already gone through it. All who reflect know that we require another foundation than that of the nineteenth century if we are to have peace and happiness.

It would not be difficult to refute Feuerbach, whose influence, for many irresistible, rested upon the fact that with eloquent enthusiasm he gave an intelligible expression to the ideas that for centuries had been working in the minds of the people. His works, especially his book, *The Essence of Christianity*, are only variations upon the idea that the world of religious representations, of God and of heaven, is nothing else but a world of the imagination, an immense realm of fancy in which man pictures his own being, his loves and his hates, in superhuman forms on the background of another world. God—that is man as he wishes God to be. God is love because man needs it! justice, because man does not find it on earth! beauty, because man desires the beautiful—God is man! Feuerbach never wearies of repeating this series of ideas. He surveys the whole dogma of

Christianity and explains it psychologically, often very convincingly and acutely, but nearly always as unhistorically as his teacher and opponent Hegel, who found in Christianity the realisation of spiritual philosophy. To refute the fundamental ideas of Feuerbach's books is as unnecessary as impossible. Impossible, for each new discovery in the region of the history of religion has established that which he often suggested rather than proved: that religion, Christianity included, depends upon the whole life of culture; that it grows and evolves with the evolution of the historical life of humanity, that therefore it is something human. Unnecessary also, for this fact does not prove what Feuerbach thought he could prove by it,—that the objects to which faith refers are merely imaginary. The subjectivity and the changing form of our ideas of God affect God Himself, as little as false ideas of the nature of the sun cause its disappearance. If in some way or other we become certain of God as a reality, as a fact, then the recognition of the imperfection of our ideas of Him is so far a matter of pure indifference. We may contend that the historical fact that men believe they come in contact with a reality beyond this world, and the fact that through this faith they are able to regard the world in accordance with their idea of the nature of this reality, are noteworthy, and give occasion to the question whether we are not truly concerned here with a reality. For it is clear that it has not been the doubters, but those who have had faith—not necessarily in the ecclesiastical sense—that have built up the world and have the forces of progress on their side.

After Feuerbach, modern science, with the establishment of the theory of evolution, has endeavoured to conceive the world and all that it includes, without the hypothesis of a God who places before Himself an aim; of a creator and sustainer with wisdom and goodness. In the systematic study of the organic world, this new way of thought has led to such magnificent results that it has been wrongly thought possible to apply it absolutely to human history, as economic historical theory. It has also escaped the eyes of some, that the theory is also

quite helpless to explain the logical mathematical organisation of the world. For it, that organisation is simply an ultimate fact. Nevertheless, as the earlier faith in heaven yielded to the new conception of the world, many lost their faith in God through the theory of evolution, whether it was named after Darwin or others. Almost everywhere there is still to be found that misunderstanding of religion, which confuses it with the conception of the world with which it has for a time become associated. For even supposing that a logical mathematical intelligence were no longer thought necessary for the explanation of the world, and that that idea were finally rejected, religion would not thereby be really affected. Many pious men at all times have had no wish to know anything of the God of philosophy. Their God is something other than the "final cause," the "basis of thought," the "prime mover."

The situation is very similar with regard to the problem of freedom, where the Rationalist faith of the eighteenth century seems to be overthrown by modern Natural Science. In the opinion of many, the relation of the soul and the body has been more and more clearly revealed. Men are powerfully impressed, indeed many are completely convinced, by the facts of the relation of body and mind, of mental disease and heredity. Nothing seems more difficult to us now than to ascribe to men the responsibility for their deeds. For are we not simply a bundle of inherited qualities formed by the infinite series of acts, habits, and omissions of our predecessors? Is it not foolish to try to fight against this view? For many the question of religion and the ideal that it proclaims assumes the form of this scientific one concerning freedom. Such a question affects Christianity very little. It is almost superfluous to remark that Paul did not regard the will as free in the sense of the Enlightenment; that Augustine fought against Pelagius on the subject, and that Luther wrote concerning the "unfree" will. The real question is as to the nature of the soul itself. Early Christianity did not, it is true, teach the immortality of the soul as conceived by Plato and the Rationalists, but the

resurrection of the whole man, body and soul. To-day, however, it is clearer than ever before that the body disintegrates and becomes part of thousands of other bodies. If the soul is nothing but a function of the body, or is so bound up with it that there is no inner life without it, then the belief in another life seems empty and vain. Copernicus destroyed the idea of the dwelling of the soul in the sky; to some it now appears that there will be no dwellers left. For on the view mentioned, will not the soul die with the death of the brain?

That is the form which the religious question takes for many men to-day. In fact, that was the situation at the end of the nineteenth century. It may be said that the leading representatives of contemporary science have overcome the delusion that they could prove that there is no God, no immortality, no freedom. Few now talk as though Materialism, even in the supposed modified form of neutral Monism, is the end of all wisdom or can solve all the riddles of the universe. Nevertheless, many people still feel that all is destroyed, and that they stand on a field of ruins.

Can Jesus help us in this situation? He lived in an age that felt certain in its belief in God; firm with regard to all of those bases of the religious feelings that have now fallen into doubt: beliefs which were to him self-evident presuppositions. He felt nothing of many of the questions that make belief so difficult and doubt so easy to us. These ultimate ideas of faith were interwoven in his mind with a conception of the world that included a crystalline heaven and a fiery hell, devils and demons, wonders and signs, that in any case cannot be accepted by us.

Notwithstanding all that, he is still able to hold before our hearts an ideal that inspires and moves, raises and ennobles us. Ultimately it is this ideal which is involved in the conflict concerning religion. Whether we venture to believe that a moral love rules the world or merely rigid law, depends less upon scientific knowledge than upon the enthusiasm for the good which seizes us. The belief in the one stands or falls with belief in the other. A God—not a scientific hypothesis, but a

real living God—is only to be had in the religious experience; not before it or without it. Religious experience (which we may call faith) is attained not through thought but through living: though it lacks "proofs," it is thoroughly justified. Great importance must be attached to the fact that Jesus himself made no attempt to prove his faith in God or his mission. We have seen that he was averse to bringing conviction by signs and wonders. He knew they would be of little avail with men. Father Abraham says to the rich man: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe if one rise from the dead." The desire for such proof is bad: Jesus says that only "an evil and adulterous generation" seeketh after a sign, but no other sign shall be forthcoming but the preaching of repentance, conviction through the good; no other proof than that of conscience. Jesus saw clearly and taught that we cannot reach God without faith, and without the attempt to conduct our lives in accordance with His will, that is, with love acknowledged as the ideal. Science gives us nothing for or against faith in this ideal. The realm of science is the world that can be analysed and measured. Concerning the meaning of life, and the worth of the world as a whole, science can give no help, whether we reject it with Buddha; fight for it with Nietzsche; or rise above it with Jesus. It is thus a delusion to think that the religious question to-day is essentially different from what it has been in other ages. Ultimately it is the old question, and one who can penetrate the external form that appears to make it to-day a philosophical problem, concerning a transcendent God and another world, feels that the problem really lies in this: What shall I do to be saved? How shall I become pure and happy? In that form the question presents itself to all reflective minds of our time. He who seeks thus will find—not a theory—but a life.

This is no discovery of the theologian, but that which is continually witnessed to by the hearts of men. Let us hear one tell us how the religious question came upon him: "When I stood at the midday height of my life, suddenly, as it were a

second youth came over me. It seemed as though something within me became free, as though chains were broken that had bound me, and as though new fires welled up and streamed from my innermost being. A feverish impulse came upon me to do all manner of things which before had been foreign and quite distant from me. Day and night I was in a state of wild unrest.

"All the time I was overwhelmed, as by an ocean wave that rolls over and buries us, by all those old eternal questions that repeat themselves like rhymes in our heads more frequently than the Lord's Prayer; questions over which we often like to philosophise for an hour when we think we have nothing better to do: Whence? Why? Whither? They came as a disease, and as a pain probed deep within me and would never more leave me. Everything else seemed a matter of indifference. The world lost all form and colour, and these questions alone possessed life and reality.

"When we create a work of art, build a house, construct a machine—when we cook a meal, go walks, attend balls, and we reflect over and think of these things, and ask what we desire, we have definite aims before us, we outline plans and seek to unite all parts inwardly and consistently. *Our life itself* seems to us less than a dwelling-place which we prepare and decorate, less than the clothing that we put on, less than the machine that we put together, less than a discourse or a poem. In art we create masterpiece after masterpiece, but we do not think to mould and fashion our life as a masterpiece. Our life as a whole is a chaos, a heap of ruins; it is a confusion of contingencies; it flows as water through our fingers. And yet we think that we speak deeply and wisely when we say we are hounded and driven through life by a dark fate, or if we feel like puppets. We are creatures—not creators—so we say. *What is the meaning and the value of our life? How ought we to live?* The first, most important, most necessary, and most natural of all questions—just *that* seems to be the one of least consequence: there is no other that we so put aside and to which we so refuse our attention as we do this. Those who have reflected over it, and

have sought to answer it, have said something awful to us, they have been the first really to break our life to ruins. They tell us that we can know nothing of the meaning and value of life, that it is an insoluble riddle; that, in fact, life for us is meaningless. Torn this way and that, full of nothing but contradictions, how shall we make of life a work of art, a masterpiece, when we do not know what we really want?

"These questions come upon us with pain, as a disease, yet also related to the highest desire and infinite joy. Only when they fill us as the priest is inspired by his God, the poet by his work, and the wife by her love, then alone in the quiet night and the brightness of the morning hours our nature reveals itself."

Just that is the religious question: the search for an eternal worth in life, the search that cannot be quietened by science or art, social work or culture. Above Materialism and Scepticism, decadence and confusion, individualism and realism, this one question again and again makes itself felt, this question which cannot be crushed out, the question as to the meaning of life. And the answer to it always depends upon faith.

Before we ourselves seek from Jesus an answer to this question, let us hear others whom he has helped, or who in their need have come to learn from him.

Leo Tolstoi.

The course of Tolstoi's life was only to a certain extent typical. His soul was too great and wild for it to be bound by the general currents of life in his own age. His strength was greater than that of most men of the century. He was removed from us also by his nature as a Russian; for, notwithstanding his western education, he never became more than half a western. Finally, we must bear in mind that the Eastern Church, of all the forms of Christianity, is that which has become most polytheistic. Steeped almost entirely in mystery worship, and giving rise to extreme excitement of the feelings, this form of

Christianity makes few demands on the intellect and the conscience, and for the same reason influences these very little. For, through the problems of life men grow.

Thousands have gone through the same experience as Tolstoi, but he had power to give expression to that which many suffer, and thus he won the enormous influence he possesses. Most can and will accept only his negations and his criticisms, but not follow him along the new way that he pointed out.

In his book, *My Confession*, he has described his life and conversion. As all converts, in looking back upon the past he exaggerates the difference in his life before and after the change; his writings give evidence of a more gradual and continuous development. He has described, surely with truth, how in his fiftieth year, when he stood at the highest point of his life, of his success, and of his family happiness, at one stroke the haughty scepticism to which he rendered homage fell as an oppressive weight upon his soul. Doubt came over him as it came over Buddha: "Sooner or later there will come disease and death (they had come already) to my dear ones and to me, and there will be nothing left but stench and worms. All my affairs, no matter what they may be, will sooner or later be forgotten, and I myself shall not exist. . . . A person can only live as long as he is intoxicated with life, but the moment he becomes sober he cannot help seeing that all is only a deception, and a stupid deception at that!" "My life is a stupid, mean trick played on me by somebody." That is how this scepticism came over him. The first way of escape that proposed itself to him was suicide. "This thought was so seductive that I had to use cunning against myself lest I should rashly execute it. I did not want to be in a hurry, because I wanted to use every effort to disentangle myself; if I should not succeed in disentangling myself, there would always be time for that." The question which troubled him was the question of life; this simple question which is lying in the soul of every one, from the silliest child to the wisest man, the question, "What will come of what I am doing to-day, and shall do to-morrow? What will come of my

whole life? Expressed differently, the question might be stated like this: Why live, why wish for anything, why do anything? Or it may be expressed still differently: Is there in my life a meaning which would not be destroyed by an inevitable, imminent death?"

As a man of fifty, who for long had believed himself able to instruct others, he commenced once more to seek for himself an answer to this question. The sciences are powerless to give him an answer. They simply say: "We have no answers to what you are and why you live, and we do not busy ourselves with that; but if you want to know the laws of light, of chemical combinations, the laws of the development of organisms; if you want to know the laws of bodies, their forms, and the relations of numbers and quantities; or if you want to know the laws of your mind, we can give you clear, definite, incontrovertible answers to all that." Neither can the wisdom of the philosophers help him: for do not the wisest of the wise preach only that of which he himself is already aware, that life even at its best is a mean jest? Do not Solomon and Buddha, Socrates and Schopenhauer, teach that?

The masses, it is true, live and enjoy their lives, but only because they have not attained the spiritual development of the upper classes, who, just on account of their education and enlightenment, find life shallow and meaningless. "My situation was a terrible one. I knew that I should not find anything on the path of rational knowledge but the negation of life, and in faith[1] nothing but the negation of reason, which is still more impossible than the negation of life. From rational knowledge it followed that life is an evil."

After all his doubt, there still remained to him one fact: that it is ultimately upon faith that all life is based. And he went to the theologians of his own and of other churches to learn faith again. But he did not find with them the power that he sought. What repelled him was not, in the first place, suspicions of an intellectual nature, but the fact that those who proclaimed

[1] Tolstoi here means belief in God and the Trinity, in the creation in six days, in demons and angels.

the faith did not live according to it, and were not rooted in it, but were just as much "Epicurean" as himself. What he sought he found at last among the simple common people. It was in intercourse with them that the saving knowledge finally came to him. The perverted tendency of his will had prevented him from previously discovering the truth: "I had erred, not so much because I had reasoned incorrectly, as because I had lived badly. I saw that the truth had been veiled from me, not so much by the aberrations of my mind as by my life itself, in those exclusive conditions of Epicureanism, of the gratification of the appetites, in which I had passed it." So in the recognition of his sins the simple truth of the words of John vii. 17 came to him, though he did not notice that that was the truth he expressed.

"The life of the world is dependent on a Will, on some one who strives to realise something with the life of the world and with our lives. To understand this Will it is first of all necessary to fulfil it, to do that which is required of us." From conversion of the will, from repentance, as we are accustomed to say in the words of the Church, he attained certainty. "What else do you look for? a voice called out within me. God is here. He is that without which one cannot live. To know God and to live is one and the same thing. God is life. Then live, seek God, and there will be no life without God." "And stronger than ever, all was lighted up within me and about me, and that light no longer abandoned me. . . . I returned to everything, to the most remote, to the things of childhood and of youth. I returned to the belief in that Will which had produced me and which wanted something of me; I returned to this, that the chief and only purpose of my life was to be better, that is, to live more in accord with that Will; I returned to this, that the expression of this Will I could find in that which humanity had worked out for its guidance in the vanishing past; that is, I returned to faith in God, in moral perfection, and the tradition which has been handed down concerning the meaning of life."

The religious question was solved for him, and then he felt

the question of tradition, of the Church, and of dogma. After continuous efforts to come to an understanding with it, he finally abandoned it altogether and turned to the gospels themselves. There, "in spite of the false interpretations of the churches," he found what he sought. "When I reached this source I was blinded by the light. I received full answers to my questions as to the meaning of my life and the life of others,—answers which fully agreed with those I knew of other nations, and which in my opinion surpassed them all."

What then, according to Tolstoi, is the teaching of the gospels? He had come to his conclusion before he took them up, so it is not surprising that he resolved them into nothing but allegories which agree with his preconceived ideas. He came into contact with Jesus only so far as he really discovered the gospel in his own life. When he preached change of will and life from the motive of love, it was really the spirit of Jesus that spoke to us in his words. When, however, he proclaimed his God as the source of all life, and the unity of the human race, that is, so far as he constructed a system, it was not the teaching of Jesus but of Tolstoi, who here, in a remarkable yet historically intelligible manner, agreed in everything with the young Wagner, except that Wagner had not passed through such inward struggles to gain this knowledge, or so experienced the essence of the whole—the change of will. It was from the philosophy of Hegel that they both received the influences that led them to sketch a pantheistic conception of the world.

In his commentary on the *Gospels*, Tolstoi developed all the ideas of a radical communism on the basis of love, a Christian anarchism, such as he developed later on in many pamphlets, and supported by an acute criticism of our present social life and government.

"Happy are you vagrants, for you are in the power of God: you are happy only when you are vagrants, not simply in appearance, but with your soul."

"Unfortunate are you rich, for you have received everything that you have wished for, and shall receive nothing more."

"To work for God and live in the kingdom, that is to submit to Him and to do His will."

"Let men esteem you little and drive you away from everywhere. Be glad of it, for thus have they driven away all those who have announced the will of God."

"If you are the light of men, show your light and do not hide it: let men see, indeed, that you know the truth; let them see your deeds, and understand that you are the children of the Father, your God."

His Jesus gives five commandments, upon the fulfilment of which life depends, and the performance of which is the true worship of God. 1. To do evil to nobody, and to act in such a way as not to arouse any one else to evil; for evil brings forth evil. 2. Not to abuse one's self with women, and not to leave the wife to whom one is joined. 3. To swear not at all: naturally also not to take oaths, not even at the command of the State. 4. Not to resist evil, but to suffer injustice, and to do more than is required of us by men; not to judge or to allow others to judge, because man is full of error and cannot teach others. 5. To make no difference between one's fellow countrymen and foreigners, because all men are children of one Father.

From these five commandments his Jesus develops as a complete system a communism of love such as was taught by Richard Wagner. Tolstoi was, however, much more definite than Wagner in announcing the end of the conditions that at present prevail. The State, with its legal system, the taking of oaths, its right of retaliation; its force and officialism, which sees in men "not beings towards whom there are duties as men, but only the claim to service; sees only their duties and regards itself as dispensed from every direct relation of man to man" —that must come to an end. *Patriotism and Christianity* rejects war absolutely, even as a means of the preservation of the State. Between the sexes, the first and second commandments and Jesus' severe saying concerning marriage must be applied unrelentingly. The husband and the wife who live true to these ideas experience their resurrection.

We have already sufficiently discussed this system of a radical communism of love; how far it would or would not really appeal to Jesus; and how such an organisation of humanity through love, in the ethical sense, would be the supremacy of God upon earth, and should thus be the aim of our efforts. What is new in Tolstoi's teaching is the representation of the way to attain this; a genuinely Russian and oriental one: not to resist force, to do nothing, anarchy, and with it submission to suffering on the part of the individual; but not the organisation of social endeavour or political warfare. If we were to take Tolstoi's path; if suddenly we would no longer serve the State and the Church, or fight for our country when attacked; if we would no longer organise, we should sink inevitably into barbarism, and non-Christian peoples would trample us down. If we were to give up our civilisation because machinery is the cause of death, because phosphorus and steel-dust destroy the health of so many workers, we should be overcome again by Nature. Not the overthrow of civilisation, but the shortening of the hours of labour; the abandoning of dangerous methods and branches of work; proper means of recreation,—those are the ways that are open to us, and will lead us further than the way of passive resistance, anarchy, the way of doubt. Tolstoi, indeed, thought it was "easy" to follow the sayings of Jesus exactly, and that the sufferings we should meet with would not be greater, would, in fact, be much less than the sufferings that we have to endure in the life of even a moderated egoism. He was deceived as to the possible extent of the practical application of the gospel. The cross is and will remain the end of every literal following of Jesus. There are times when this final demand is made; times when it may be made of every one, when all other means of influencing organisation appear impossible. In making this truth clear, Tolstoi was a pilot also, and not merely one who saw the aim of Jesus.

We must, nevertheless, definitely emphasise the fact that Tolstoi's significance for Christianity lies in the fact that with his great power he made its aim clear. Tolstoi's teaching and

the Catholic Church are the only forms of Christianity that sincerely desire a "Christian world." The Christian organisation called "the Church" is only the ancient world in Christian garb; but Tolstoi preached that world of love without force, law, and government, that Jesus himself also saw. The gospel of Tolstoi is a powerful call to repentance made to contemporary Christianity as a whole, not merely to the Greek Church; it is an uncovering of our pitiable compromising morality, and he did it with the same inexorable acuteness as Nietzsche. While in the voice of the latter we hear hate, so from Tolstoi speaks the voice of anger, the anger of one who sees that which is most precious hidden from the people by blind leaders of the blind. Only love that thus at times appears like hatred will help to renewal and final victory. For Christianity can triumph only when it takes seriously the task of building up a new world, and does not satisfy itself with covering and bedecking with worthy maxims the old world of individual utility and of selfishness, the old world of laws, of suspicion, and of war. The gospel can triumph over Catholicism only when, like it, it presents a complete type of life, independent of the passing forces of temporary opinion, and when it is better and purer than they. That alone can lead the individual to acts of sacrifice and the whole of mankind to a new organisation. Tolstoi's small pamphlets, such as *Contradictions in Empirical Morality*, in which with surprising clearness he shows the chaos of our ordinary morality and the mistaken education of our youth in the false ideas of the ancients, are of incalculable value in the history of Christianity.

Our central object, however, is not that, but the question of the solution of the religious problem, and the significance of Jesus in regard to it. We are forced to recognise that Tolstoi was certainly deluding himself when he thought that the pantheism that he read into the gospel, with the aid of allegory, was any longer the teaching of Jesus. No trace of historical conditions, or of apocalyptical form, remains in his picture. According to Tolstoi, Jesus' ideas of God and the world are as modern and Hegelian as his own: for by "God" he understood nothing

but the unity of men in love, and the knowledge of their inner relationship.

Tolstoi's development was really at an end when he found Jesus and read the gospel, just as Nechludoff in his *Resurrection* also discovered the gospel at the end of his conversion. He was not, in fact, won and transfigured into a new nature by Jesus. He was already another, and only became strengthened when he saw, with supreme joy, that the discovery that he had made concerning the true life, concerning happiness and bliss, the only possibility of life in love, is also the main teaching of Christianity. Nevertheless, two different matters are here involved that ought neither to be confused nor overlooked. If one asks why he and his Nechludoff begin to be converted at all, it must be admitted that their inner development implies their acknowledgment of the law of love, of the moral duty not to live a life of selfish pleasure, but to help and to serve others, in any case not to let them suffer for our sake. That is the first step to all that follows. But whence comes the knowledge of this; why does this appear as something final, something self-evident? From whence this horror in face of selfishness, as it disclosed itself once to him in all its naked form, as the essence of our thoughtless existence? To this we can only suggest the answer: because love is something radically human, because, further, the sublimest and most powerful preacher of love somehow affects us all, namely, Jesus. However much as nations and in their single members they are still so unchristian, Jesus lies deep in the tradition of the "Christian" peoples, so securely, so inexterminably, that, though we may forget him, we cannot break ourselves away from him. This is plain when we have the sense to reflect upon ourselves. In a chapter of his book, *My Belief*, Tolstoi has himself emphasised this truth. The calm irresponsibility of the Superman, who with naïve selfishness treads others under foot, represents a level of human development which no longer exists, or exists only as a defect, like colour-blindness; a level below what it indeed would have reached otherwise, but before all below what it has reached in Christianity.

Nietzsche will only convince us that we can go back again upon ourselves.

A second point is clear: Jesus works still as a power in the present age. As Tolstoi met him on the way of repentance he saw him as a present power, and was immediately affected. What was the reason for that? Truly this, that the moral ideal which Jesus taught and lived has not been transcended, but works as something with a future, as an enchanting prospect in a distant land of the blessed. His ideal of a world of love shines to-day as clear as ever before the eyes of those who long to be of service to others. Clearly it is an ideal which has to do not so much with the past as with the future, and that is why it is even now a mighty power in the hearts of men.

Oscar Wilde.

Others, doubters and sinners, have also experienced him as a present power. In Reading Gaol, Jesus came to Oscar Wilde after the great calamity of a life passed between scepticism and idle conceit, an excessive enjoyment of things and of men, and he "went with him to Emmaus." Are we truly in face of a resurrection in the case of Wilde?

Can men to whom life is merely a play of feelings be redeemed, with whom nothing is sincere and earnest except the perception for every pleasing sensation and the desire to feel themselves superior to all others? Can they be redeemed who make their confession, and feel in it nothing more than the charm of their suffering, who tell their friends that they "have learnt" to be humble, and in this feel the rapture that they are not like "most men who never gain possession of their souls"?

Many have thought that suffering converted Wilde and showed to him the true meaning of life. He speaks so finely and so delicately of sympathy and of the "justice" of Jesus, a "justice" that is here nothing but "poetic." He knows how to describe the way Jesus comes to sinners, "precious as the approach of spring." With what beauty he represents Jesus' lack of

anxiety, his understanding for everything that has a soul, and his conflict against self-satisfied pride! When he speaks of his own past life we might suppose that he was in earnest to become like Jesus—a voice for those who must wait patiently in silence, and a comfort for those that mourn.

In other places also we meet words that might make us believe that, as with Tolstoi, suffering had led him to God: that in his suffering he seized love as the meaning of life and the gift of God. This is what he almost says in the words: "On the occasion of which I am thinking I recall distinctly how I said to her that there was enough suffering in one narrow London lane to show that God did not love man, that wherever there was any sorrow, though but that of a child in some little garden weeping over a fault that it had or had not committed, the whole face of creation was completely marred. . . . Now it seems to me that love of some kind is the only possible explanation of the extraordinary amount of suffering that there is in the world. I cannot conceive of any other explanation. I am convinced that there is no other, and that if the world has indeed, as I have said, been built of sorrow, it has been built by the hands of love, because in no other way could the soul of man, for whom the world was made, reach the full stature of its perfection. Pleasure for the beautiful body, but pain for the beautiful soul." In these words another tone sounds clearly, his old tone: suffering only revealed to him a new, hitherto-undiscovered, side of beauty; only made his soul more able to revel in still more delicate and curious colours. What began for him in Reading Gaol was not a "new life," but a new pose.

He looked upon Jesus only as a "poet," in the sense in which he understood the poet as "one who represents." The *Agnus Dei* that resounds in his mysterious romantic harmonies runs: Behold, he was the greatest artist who sang the sufferings of the world, and made his own life the finest masterpiece of suffering. Never has the drama of suffering been described apparently so simply and yet in reality as pointedly as Wilde does it. The language is unique with which he sketches his picture of Jesus, as

the life of a poet, who, the richest of all artists, willed to experience and give expression to the last and most awful thing on earth.

"Out of the Carpenter's shop at Nazareth had come a personality infinitely greater than any made by myth and legend, and one, strangely enough, destined to reveal to the world the mystical meaning of wine and the real beauties of the lilies of the field as none, either on Cithæron or at Enna, had ever done.

"The song of Isaiah, 'He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: and we hid, as it were, our faces from him,' had seemed to him to prefigure himself, and in him the prophecy was fulfilled.

"With a width and wonder of imagination that fills one almost with awe, he took the entire world of the inarticulate, the voiceless world of pain, as his kingdom, and made himself its eternal mouth-piece. Those . . . who are dumb under oppression and 'whose silence is heard only of God,' he chose as his brothers. He sought to become eyes to the blind, ears to the deaf, and a cry in the lips of those whose tongues had been tied. . . . And feeling, with the artistic nature of one to whom suffering and sorrow were modes through which he could realise his conception of the beautiful, that an idea is of no value till it becomes incarnate and is made an image, he made of himself the image of the Man of Sorrows, and as such has fascinated and dominated art as no Greek god ever succeeded in doing. For the Greek gods, in spite of the white and red of their fair fleet limbs, were not really what they appeared to be. The curved brow of Apollo was like the sun's crescent over a hill at dawn, and his feet were as the wings of the morning; but he himself had been cruel to Marsyas and had made Niobe childless. In the steel shields of Athena's eyes there had been no pity for Arachne; the pomp and peacocks of Hera were all that was really noble about her."

We can see what has happened here: a man who, at the sound of the awful charge against him, a charge that was like a passage from Tacitus or a verse from Dante, felt disgust, but in this experienced a new sensation, and said to his soul: "How

magnificent it would be if I say all that about myself." Such a man could see in Jesus only the "artist." He could no longer overcome the selfishness and the pride which had constituted his life. He had become too much an actor.

Suffering did not heal him, neither did his artist, Jesus. Even when the last came, when he was pronounced unworthy of bringing up his sons, fate found him an actor. "I threw myself on my knees, bowed my head, cried, and said: 'The body of a child is like the body of the Lord: I am unworthy of both.'" It is the curse of such a purely æsthetical life, concerning which Wilde could say without sorrow, "There was no pleasure I did not experience," that in it one does indeed throw one's "soul into a cup of wine." It degenerates. Even where crime is not discovered, suffering inevitably breaks in somewhere at some time or other. *Dorian Gray* is a fable. The house of cards of a merely æsthetical life falls before the wind of real life. Oscar Wilde is typical because he shows to us the end of such a life: the resurrection again to the same pride and emptiness, to the same pleasures and the same self-mirroring as in the time before the great suffering. We need not know what his friend Sherard tells us of the end of his life, to be able to say: Suffering does not cure such men, it only makes them vain in another way. For them it is indeed only the "last and highest realisation of the æsthetic life"; it gives to the artist, says Wilde of himself, "a still deeper note, a tone of greater harmony, of intenser intuition." With earnest and deep men, on the contrary, such a purely æsthetical life, the life of one who "steps along the path of flowers to the sound of flutes," ends in Pessimism with Buddha—and in the monasteries of the Church. Nietzsche would certainly have gone one of these ways—a repulsive pride often expressed itself in him—if illness had not given him depth and seriousness; if he had once really tried life in the manner of Oscar Wilde. Cannot Jesus redeem a man from such an empty life of mere æstheticism and pride?—"But Jesus looked upon them and said, With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible."

Modern Theology in Germany.

The crisis through which Christianity, and, in fact, religion in general is passing, is felt by none more perhaps than by the theologians. When we think of all the work of critical study that we have passed under review; when we survey the practical collapse of the philosophy of Absolute Idealism towards the middle of the nineteenth century; and remember how feeble is not only orthodoxy, but also the rationalistic form of Christianity, we can understand how keen the conflicts in theology—and amongst theologians—must be. For it is their duty more than that of others to know every criticism, to consider every doubt. When the difficulty of this task is appreciated, it will not appear strange that many, and often not the least highminded, weary and in doubt, have abandoned the work; or that some should continue it with silent anger or even with contempt. We shall understand also the attacks and invectives with which some who turn their backs upon theology persecute the others as "compromisers." We may think, for example, of Overbeck, the friend of Nietzsche; and of the former's pupil, the novelist C. A. Bernoulli; and, further, of Kalthoff, who felt it to be an intolerable yoke to be a preacher of a historical religion.

When religion and theology seemed to lose, and for many did lose, its last support, and to fall with the breakdown of the German Idealism, it was Albrecht Ritschl who with energy and insight rescued theology from the sinking ship. By a direct return to Kant and Luther he emphasised the peculiarity and independence of religious life as distinct from all mere knowledge of the world. He thought to set it free from the metaphysical, and to base faith in God and the "supernatural" purely upon the conscience. And in this task, though with a certain stiffness, he pointed to Jesus, to his loyalty and death, and to the moral and religious ideal of the kingdom of God, which he interpreted in modern terms as a community of love. This work of Ritschl, with all its imperfection and one-sidedness, was a work of salvation. It is not surprising that a great number of men became

his followers and friends, for they were alive to these fundamental ideas because they had gone through experiences similar to his. In this circle the most penetrating and free historical research was done, for no longer was need felt to modify and rationalise the traditional Christian dogma, but simply to appreciate the inward holiness of the gospel. The historical research described above has been done chiefly by these men. Nearly all, as the old has dissolved before them, have met Jesus himself: They have felt his appeal in their hearts and have found joy in their faith, often as science has seemed to destroy it. Almost all could join in the confession that Harnack boldly makes at the end of his book, *What is Christianity?*

"It is religion, the love of God and neighbour, which gives life a meaning; knowledge cannot do it. Let me, for once, if you please, speak of my own experience, as one who for thirty years has taken an earnest interest in these things. Pure knowledge is a glorious thing, and woe to the man who holds it lightly or blunts his sense for it. But to the question: Whence? Whither? and to what purpose? the intellect gives as little an answer to-day as it did two or three thousand years ago. It does, indeed, instruct us in facts; it detects inconsistencies; it links phenomena, it corrects the deceptions of sense and idea: but where and how the curve of the world and the curve of our own life begin—that curve of which it shows only a section—and whither this curve leads, knowledge does not tell us. Yet, if with a steady will we affirm the forces and the standards that shine out on the summits of our inner life, as our highest good, nay, as our real self; if we are earnest and courageous enough to accept them as the great Reality, and to direct our lives by them; and if we then look at the course of the history of mankind, follow its upward development, and search in strenuous and patient service for the communion of minds in it, we shall not faint in weariness and despair, but become certain of God—of the God whom Jesus Christ called his Father, and who is also our Father."

These fundamental convictions have been presented in many

ways, with differences of emphasis. At one time emphasis is placed more upon what Jesus taught, his ideal and his faith; at another time upon his person, his loyalty to his work, his confidence in face of misery, and the purity of his love to sinners. In Harnack's concluding confessions, as through the book itself, the fundamental ideas of Jesus stand out as what is of greatest importance, as the truth that brings happiness and inward satisfaction to our moral being. These ideas are those of *the kingdom of God and its advent; God, the Father; the infinite worth of the human soul; justice; and the commandment of love.* Nevertheless Harnack, though he has written that Jesus does not form part of his own gospel, does not mean that the life of Jesus is a matter of indifference.

Among these theologians, it is, above all, Hermann who, with a force of feeling, carrying all the more influence because it is clothed in the language of the scholar, has presented these convictions and the inner life of Jesus, the ultimate and most sublime in him, as a reality transcending us, and as the deepest ground of our faith in God. In starting from the way in which Jesus assumed Messiahship and gave it a deeper significance, and how he looked upon death, Hermann proceeds from those sides of the inner life of Jesus that are the most difficult to fix by historical study, and that are in consequence most disputed: we ourselves have preferred to follow the opposite method. In the glow of his enthusiasm, Hermann underestimates those other motives to faith in God that lie in Nature and in the historical life of humanity. He is still too much under the influence of the first outbreak of hostile criticism. It continually becomes more clear, naturalistic assertions notwithstanding, that many voices in Nature and history still speak of That "which gives to the clouds form, and to the winds ways, a path and a course." Others, though one with Hermann in his fundamental conviction, draw the historical Jesus much more definitely. They no longer take him out of the course of history, but for the first time give him his right place within it. To them God's governance shines forth in all the inner life of humanity, and not the least in the

course upwards from animal beginnings to the new man in Jesus. It was significant that after Harnack's *What is Christianity?* appeared Bousset's *What is Religion?* which, upon the background of the history of religion, sketched, as its highest development, the gospel as an ethical religion of redemption, in the centre of which stands faith in "the freedom and emancipation of the good will through the forgiveness of sins."

The unique significance of Jesus for the life of the soul is here again acknowledged, and the sure foundation of all pure, strong, and happy human life sought in his personal character. We name Bousset's *Jesus* and Wernle's *Beginnings of our Religion* simply as characteristic utterances of the tendency in which, along with the emphasis placed upon the historical and temporal, a strong tone of personal confession sounds through the whole; for to those who follow this tendency also Jesus speaks as "the last and highest," and is the guide of ages and peoples to God.

The Position in France.

More and more in France mechanistic and materialistic views of the world and of life have given place to dynamic and vitalistic ones; this from the time of the first publication of Boutroux's *Essay on the Contingence of the Laws of Nature* to the works of Bergson. With this change, ethical and religious views have had freer and more satisfactory growth. Activism is not simply the teaching of a leading German philosopher:[1] it is the spirit of our modern life. Evident in what is best in French life it is also the principle of the best known French philosophy. Religion is something to be actively and actually experienced: it is in Bergson's sense immediate "intuition." "To live," says Jean Réville, "is to be active, to love, to think, to will, to come out of ourselves, to use the energies that the Eternal has entrusted to us: to live is to accomplish one's task on earth however modest, however humble, however insignificant it may be in appearance."

"The war of 1870," says Paul Sabatier, "was for France the

[1] Rudolf Eucken.

occasion of a religious crisis which still endures." Catholicism was not equal to the situation. While some sought satisfaction in organised Protestantism, others became indifferent to matters of religious organisation, aiding or taking no part in the separation of Church and State. A new spirit has thus arisen, which we might express in the words of M. Guyau in the introduction to his book, *The Irreligion of the Future.* "He alone is religious, in the philosophical sense of the word, who seeks, thinks, and loves truth." The humanistic tendency of our age is felt perhaps by non-Catholic Frenchmen more so perhaps than by either Germans or Englishmen—"Life—that is evolution." "We love God in man, the future in the present, the ideal in the real. Man in evolution is, in truth, the Divine Man of Christianity. And then this love of the ideal, one with the love of humanity, instead of being a vain contemplation and an ecstasy, will become a source of action. We love God, so to say, as much as we realise this ideal. If there is at the bottom of the heart of man some persistent mystical instinct, it will be employed as an important factor in the evolution of our ideas: the more we worship them, the more we shall realise them. Religion, becoming transformed into that which is most pure in the world, love of the ideal, will become at the same time that which is the most real, and in appearance the more a thing for earth—work." "Belief in the divine will be no longer a passive adoration, but an activity."

Protestantism in France is not strongly organised; it has no very well supported public worship. On the other hand, many of those who call themselves freethinkers are religiously minded, and hold views very little different from Protestant Christians. The leaders of French Protestantism are, and have been, practically the sole protagonists of free religious life and thought in France. Definite organisation of a Church with liberal principles was chiefly due to efforts made in the middle of the nineteenth century. The thinkers associated with this movement have done most of the best theological work that France has produced. An attempt to get nearer to the actual religious experience in the formulation of religious belief was made by Auguste Sabatier in his advocacy

of a philosophy of religion based upon psychology and history. Ménégoz emphasised personal faith as the reality of religious life, and A. Réville investigated the historical growth of religion, and the life of Jesus.

The spirit and attitude of Protestantism in France may be best seen by the declaration of the synod held at Montpellier in 1905. "Faithful to the spirit of faith and of liberty by which our ancestors have lived and suffered:

"We affirm for each member of the Church the right and the duty to establish for himself his faith and his beliefs in Holy Scripture and in the experience of piety.

"We are filled with joy at the thought, that we possess in Jesus Christ the supreme gift of God, the saviour who by his person, his teachings, his holy life, his sacrifice, and his triumph in death, communicates constantly to the children of the Heavenly Father the necessary power to bring about on earth, justice and love, above all forms of evil, whether individual or social.

"And to all those who, in communion with Jesus Christ, seek from God pardon from sin, energy for the moral life, consolation in suffering and eternal hope, as brothers we open our churches, upon which we preserve the true Protestant device, 'The gospel and liberty.'"

In his book *Les Paroles d'un libre Croyant*, Jean Réville tells us how a liberal-minded Frenchman regards Jesus. History has many Christs: there have been many Christs even in the Christian Church. Therein lies the difficulty. "We see appear successively in history diverse representations of Christ, sometimes so divergent that we can hardly conceive that they can all refer to one and the same historic being." The nineteenth century had its view or rather views; the twentieth also will have something distinctive in its views. What religious and moral value, it may be asked, is to be obtained from the belief that Jesus miraculously increased some loaves of bread or divined the presence of a coin in the mouth of a fish? Such things can give us no help in the active life of the present: and the same is true of the traditional account of the divinity of Jesus. "We do not believe in the traditional

doctrine of the divinity of Christ. . . . But we recognise the revelation of God in the conscience of his creatures, and among all those who here on earth have said: Our Father, which art in heaven, and in the moral and religious life, we know none in whom this revelation has been more complete than in Jesus." And what says this Jesus, this Christ, who persists in and through the Christs who pass? "Come to me: breathe my spirit: seek justice in all things: repent from your sins: have faith in spiritual things and do not put all your trust in worldly goods: come, be gentle as I am gentle, humble as I am humble: come, put all your confidence in God: love. Thus will you be my disciples: there is nothing more than that."

Theology in England.

Conflicts concerning religious beliefs and theological doctrines have always been less violent in England than in most of the other European countries, and partly in consequence of this, theological thought has progressed much more slowly. Further, there seems to be a native conservatism in the English character which makes sudden changes in point of view almost impossible. This, though it often results in a backwardness as compared with the progress in other countries, has the one advantage, that men rarely go to the extreme of an aggressive one-sidedness. These are not the only reasons why there has been little theological literature centring its attention solely on the historical Jesus, apart from the traditional doctrines concerning him. Within the Established Church the forces wedded to a sacerdotal view of Christianity are at present so strong as to make it impossible for a man to speak openly, and to continue to hold an office in which he may feel he is doing his best work. Liberal clergy rightly adopt the policy of passing over matters which appear in contradiction with religion as they know it. They are wrong in not stating more clearly those truths which they regard as vital, and openly championing them for the deepening of the religious experience and the spiritualising of our social life. Those who

do speak and write most often clothe their thoughts in language which, to all but a few, conveys the idea of entire acquiescence in the traditional position. Strong arguments may be urged for the continuance of the recognition of religion by the State, but it cannot be denied that the necessity of setting into motion Parliamentary machinery, involved in the present relation of Church and State, is one of the greatest hindrances to much-needed reforms. Reform, when it does come, must allow greater elasticity in the tests to which candidates for ordination have to submit. The next powerful movement in the religious life in England will be, we believe, one which will assert the right of spiritual freedom and the superiority of religious conviction and faith over all submission to uniformity in doctrinal statement or ecclesiastical organisation. Those striving to attain such reforms, though working quietly are none the less active, and their influence is steadily growing. The time will come when the efforts of some of our best scholars will not be spent in endeavouring—by theories of *kenosis* and otherwise — to harmonise what is forced upon them by historical research and philosophic criticism with the ecclesiastical doctrines from which they set out. For there is the root of the matter: English theologians almost all assume the position of the creeds, and undertake their study to see how far they are absolutely compelled to modify it. They do not proceed, with minds as open as possible, to seek what is the sublimest and most comprehensive view of God and the world, of Jesus and of man, using the Christian records and experience as part of the data. Thus, though much careful and useful work has been done in many branches of theological study, there is in English theology no definite movement corresponding with that discussed in the section on Modern Theology in Germany.

The spirit of the work of Martineau has indeed been carried on in that of J. Estlin Carpenter, but here we shall occupy ourselves chiefly with the work of a man who, though adopting a different attitude from that advocated in this book, shows a freedom, a clearness, and a comprehensiveness of treatment so great, that he must be accorded an exceptional place amongst

English theologians of our day—Dr. Percy Gardner. Under the influence of A. Sabatier, Loisy, James, and to some extent of Harnack, he endeavours to present a statement of the gospels studied from the points of view of psychology and of history. For him "divine ideas" are the vital forces of religious progress. "By divine ideas is here meant those noble and life-giving religious impulses or tendencies which, by degrees, variously, in various ages, become displayed upon the theatre of the world's history, and are worked into the framework of human society." These ideas are also the expression of the religious experience of the previous ages, and, as the Modernists contend, they are the subject of an evolution in their meaning, growing with the psychical life of the religious society. "It is for a sane theology to preserve, for the lasting good of mankind, the noble ideas as to God, man, and the Founder of our religion, which the evangelists embodied to the best of their ability in narrative."

The way in which the disciples were led to express their religious experience of Jesus was determined by their existing mental furniture. Gardner is skilful in his analysis and criticism. His treatment of the story of the Virgin Birth is characteristic. "The account of the birth given in St. Matthew's Gospel is so closely connected with the words of the prophets that it might be set forth in those words without any connecting narrative. Let us allow the prophets to speak in turn, as their words were received by the early Christian society. From Isaiah we have 'A virgin shall be with child'; from Micah, 'Out of Bethlehem shall come a ruler'; from Hosea, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son'; from Jeremiah, 'In Ramah was a voice heard, weeping and a great mourning'; out of other prophecies, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.' Thus the circumstances and the place of the birth, the journey into Egypt, the massacre of the innocents, the dwelling at Nazareth, were all conditions to which the life of the supposed Messiah must conform. It is, however, not difficult to see that in some of these cases the historic fact gives rise to the application of prophecy; in others, the prophecy may probably be the basis of the narrative. Jesus certainly dwelt at Nazareth,

and certainly in none of the prophets is it asserted that the Messiah should come out of that village. . . . Here, then, the fact is the origin at Nazareth, and the fanciful quotation from prophecy is an attempt to find in the prophets something corresponding to the fact." The stories of the miracles originated in the strong feeling that the disciples had toward their master. They have an indirect testimony to the influence of Jesus, which, for our religious life, is of more importance than if they were simple statements of fact; but, as Gardner rightly says, "The attribution of physical miracle to the Master was the materialisation of a life-giving idea." In taking this attitude we are true to the teaching of Jesus himself. "Jesus clearly repudiates the working of miracles such as the people longed for. Signs of a kind, such as strange cures of disease, he does seem to have given them: but he repudiated the rôle of the mere wonder-worker. In rejecting the literal truth of the miraculous in the gospel, we follow the line clearly indicated by our Founder." The stories of the resurrection and ascension are an expression of the feeling of the continued spiritual presence of Jesus.

Gardner does not discuss in detail the teaching of Jesus with regard to daily life; he recognises the presence of certain precepts, of the ideal of the Kingdom, and of the necessity for a man to sacrifice his apparent life if he will gain his true life. He allows himself a criticism which, unfortunately, is not complete, and in consequence of doubtful value. "Jesus," he says, "has been regarded by many of the pure humanitarians of recent days as their hero and prototype, the apostle of boundless unselfishness and desire for human happiness. There could scarcely be a more one-sided and incomplete view of the Founder of Christianity. He did, no doubt, show in his life and deed an infinite pity for the suffering. But this was not the basis of his life. It rested on a purely theological foundation. With him the second commandment, to love one's neighbour, was entirely dominated by the first, to love God." We do not deny that at the foundation of Jesus' life and teaching lies his confidence and faith in the divine Father, but that is not really in dispute. It is a pity that

Gardner did not state what he supposes to be the love of God apart from the love of man. In Matt. xxv. we find that in the description of the last judgment, love for man and love for God are represented as ultimately one and the same thing. "Verily I say unto you, insomuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me." Gardner only saves himself by implying in the term "pure humanitarians" a narrow view of humanity.

Gardner makes a useful remark with regard to the question of the ethical teaching of Jesus and the matter of punishment and reward. There is no doubt in his mind that Jesus accepted the principle. "The notion of a great judgment of the souls of men, whereby they are divided for punishment and reward, underlies so many of the reported sayings and parables of the Master that it must have a root in his own words. The final and rigid separation of those who have done evil and those who have done well recurs continually in the synoptic pages. But the setting of the judgment varies greatly from passage to passage. Sometimes it is purely Jewish: the nations are gathered round the throne of the Messiah, who has returned in glory and power, to await their doom of happiness or misery. . . . But in many of the parables . . . the setting is far more vague. . . . It seems that, in the case of the parables which are most authentic and most clear in their interpretation, the meed of reward for doing good, and punishment for evil-doing, is spoken of as a phenomenon of the life of the spirit—one of the profound and regularly working laws of the moral world." In a similar manner forgiveness of sins appears to have been to Jesus a "constant and regular phenomenon of spiritual life."

The need of a new presentation of what is fundamental in Christianity has been seriously felt by leading minds in the free religious bodies, and no one has made a more earnest attempt to satisfy this need than R. J. Campbell. The position he advocates in *The New Theology* is, however, but a popular account of a type of Absolute Idealism as applied to the interpretation of Christianity. There is, notwithstanding the great difference in spirit,

a marked resemblance between Campbell's exposition and that of Tyrrell. Though he thinks that the greatest subject that at present occupies the field of faith and morals is the personality of Jesus and his significance for mankind, he makes no attempt to give an account of Jesus from historical sources. The place that Jesus holds in the minds of men forms for him the centre of discussion. "It is no use trying to place Jesus in a row along with other religious masters. He is first, and the rest nowhere: we have no category for him." To the charge that he represents Jesus as "only a man," Campbell says: "I make him the only Man—and there is the difference. We have only seen perfect manhood once, and that was the manhood of Jesus. The rest of us have got to get there."

The most unsatisfactory part of his exposition is the application of the theory of subliminal consciousness and of divine immanence to the account of the two natures in Christ. A similar theory is resorted to by Dr. Sanday; yet it is evident, as we shall contend later, that if this is true of Jesus, it is so of all men, though the standard of morality, religion, and culture may differ. As Eucken says, Jesus is the highwater mark of a universal movement. We cannot keep the statement that "Jesus is God," at the cost of saying that we all are, as does Campbell. "Briefly summed up, the position is as follows: Jesus was God, but so are we. He was God because his life was the expression of divine love: we too are one with God in so far as our lives express the same thing. Jesus was not God in the sense that he possessed infinite consciousness: no more are we." Ultimately the difference is a philosophical as well as a religious one—there is here an Absolutism which talks in a mystical way of Christ as "ideal Man who is the soul of the Universe," and goes on to say: "Fundamentally, we are all one in this mystical eternal Christ." That such statements sound inspiring to some minds, there can be no doubt; but they are neither the deliverance of the ordinary consciousness in relation to Jesus, nor can they be obtained from the historical Jesus himself. They are expressions of a religiously-minded man in terms of a specific philosophy. The personality

of Jesus appeals to us as it appeals to almost all men, but that appeal is independent of such metaphysical speculations. Grant that there are regions of human life which were closed to Jesus, grant even, as Campbell would be prepared to admit, that empirically we have no justification for asserting what is commonly meant by the sinlessness of Jesus, that he was morally and religiously perfect, all that does not lessen the importance or the reality of the fact of our attachment to him and his teaching.

During the last few decades a modernising movement has also grown up within the Roman Church. To the group of Catholic thinkers concerned, the name "Modernists" has been applied. The name does not denote so much a specific form of teaching as an attitude. Within the group are students devoted to theological and historical problems; others devoted to social aspects of the faith, and still others to the nature of the religious life itself. In England the movement was best represented by George Tyrrell, who, more clearly than any other writer, reveals the mysticism that is really at the basis of the movement so far as it affects religion. Dogma is the social, historical expression of a living, historical and social, religious experience. Ever and anon the religious experience bursts through the limitations of the traditional dogmas and their interpretation. What is important, what is real in religion, is just the spirit, the religious experience within the Church.

Mysticism cannot place much importance upon the empirical study of the person and teachings of the historical Jesus. The Modernists seem, however, to recognise the fact that religious and moral truth, "the spirit," is propagated not so much by words as by personal contact, personal influence. Here we have again what is fundamental in the attitudes both of Ritschl and of J. H. Newman, and, we would say, of the most influential of modern religious teachers. In his last book, *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, Tyrrell gave expression to this attitude. "Jesus was not merely a revealed ideal of human personality, but a forceful, living, self-communicating ideal, a fire spreading itself

from soul to soul. It is only personality that works on personality. We can take precepts and instructions impersonally: we can obey and follow them into the structure of our mental and moral habits. But we can sometimes apprehend the whole spirit and personality of a man through his words and acts and manner. We can feel him as an overwhelming personal influence; we can catch the concrete living spirit from the broken letters and words in which it utters itself. We can feel him living in us as a masterful force. We know his way and his will in a manner that no instruction could ever impart." "It is impossible for spirit or personality to find adequate expression in terms of another order of experience. It is by a sort of internal sympathy that we read the personality of another out of the meagre shorthand of words and acts and gestures, and only so far as we are latently capable of realising a similar personality in ourselves."

This is a truth that may, indeed must, be shared by all Christians. It is incorrect to urge, as Tyrrell seemed to do, that for a liberal Christianity, such as ours, Jesus is "only what Mohammed is to the Moslem—the founder and teacher of a society, revealing and exemplifying a doctrine and method."

It is of no consequence to us, thought Tyrrell, that Jesus was a man and a carpenter, a Jew of the first century in his ideas of the world, or that he was negligent of "nine-tenths of the interests of humanity." We are to take over, not the apocalyptic imagery, but the spirit of his religion.

Modern Idealistic Philosophy.

Under the pressure of changed circumstances Idealism, the advocates of which have often stood almost alone at their posts, and through hard times have borne with theologians the scorn and the hatred of a world given over to Realism and Materialism, has come to a higher estimate of the personal life of the individual than it had in its earlier forms. Personality, as transcending Nature and the world of the senses, is to men of our day the basis of faith in a moral and spiritual world. Modern Idealist

philosophers do not occupy entirely the same position as those theologians who construct their belief in the moral and spiritual world upon the personality of Jesus and the impression it makes upon us, but they are separated definitely from the earlier Idealists for whom all personality was only a limitation of the spirit and of inner worth. For the earlier Idealism, as expounded, for example, by Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, Jesus had significance and value only as the incarnation of an idea. Modern Idealists, as their predecessors, naturally endeavour to establish their spiritual and religious view of the world, by the way of philosophy. Nevertheless, the passages we quote below show how they have been affected by Jesus.

Lotze has considered Jesus only in *Microcosmos*, book vii., where he discusses History; but, with deep penetration, he has expressed what Jesus signifies for humanity and for truth.

"Everything which a religion has to give it offers to the understanding in doctrines, to the heart in its characteristic tone, its consolations, and its promises, and to the will in commands. The original doctrines of Christianity were not very multifarious. . . . Speaking only of the kingdom of heaven, it exalted the community of spiritual life as the true reality, in the glorious light of a history embracing all the world, and let Nature and its evolution quietly glide back into the position of a place of preparation, the inner regulation of which will be revealed in due time. . . . But in speaking of the sacred love which wills the existence of the world for the sake of that world's blessedness, and has its justice restrained by pardoning grace, it emphasised so much the more certainly that one thought, the unconditioned and ever self-asserting worth of which can do without the confirmation of proof (which is very foreign to the nature of religion); and the content of that thought, as the only thing that is really certain, at the same time guides the activity of sagacious investigation in a definite direction.

"So Christianity offered infinite stimulus to the understanding without binding it down to a narrow circle of thought; and to the heart it offered full as much. . . . The consciousness of

finiteness has always oppressed mankind; but however much moral contrition we may find in the enthusiasm of the Indians, however much dread of self-exaltation in Greek circumspection, however much fidelity to duty in Roman manhood, yet everywhere this finiteness was felt to be merely a natural doom by which the less is given into the power of the greater, and its existence irrevocably confined within limits, whilst within these limits the finite is destined to attain by its own strength its highest possible ideal. . . . It was a redemption for men to be able to tell themselves that human strength is not sufficient for the accomplishment of its own ideals: hence from this time mankind no longer seemed to be an isolated species of finite being, turned out complete by the hand of Nature, and destined to reach unaided, by innate powers, definite goals of evolution. Freed from this isolation, giving himself up to the current of grace, which as continuous history combines infinite and finite, man is enabled to feel himself in community with the eternal world. . . . And since the mere belonging to a particular race was now no longer a source of justification or condemnation,—salvation needing to be taken hold of by the individual heart, which must be willing to lose its life in order that it might find it again,—there now began to be developed for the first time that personal consciousness which thenceforward with all its problems, freedom of the will, guilt and responsibility, resurrection and immortality, has given a totally different colouring to the whole background of man's mental life. . . .

"To the will Christianity proposed only such commands as require permanent goodness of disposition: from the ordering of human affairs by ceremonies, law and government, it stood indefinitely far. . . . That which is better and juster did make a way for itself in ancient life, but almost exclusively in those cases in which the oppressed struggled manfully with the oppressor; the provident humanity which, without seeking its own happiness, takes the part of the suffering section of mankind and requires and exercises deeds of justice and of mercy, was something very foreign to the ancient world, and in the new world it has no more powerful

source than Christianity." These words were printed in the same year as Strauss published his second *Life of Jesus.* Liebmann, who along with Cohen and Ritschl, in the confusion that followed the breakdown of the earlier Idealism, called "Back to Kant," based his view of the world and of life not on Jesus, but on the reason, leaving indeed to faith, to feeling, and to mysticism a place in the deeper experiences of life; but concerning Jesus, and what he owed to him, he wrote a beautiful sonnet.

Finally, in his books which have helped so many who, in this conflict concerning spiritual ideals, seek "the meaning and value of life," Eucken has in many places spoken of Jesus, and though he does not use the old terminology of religion, has made the experience of a "new birth" central in his philosophy. In *The Problem of Human Life, as viewed by the Great Thinkers from Plato to the Present Time*, though Jesus has no place in the course of philosophy as usually understood, Eucken has not passed him over, and much of what is best that has been said of Jesus stands in the pages of that book. From a long, but happy and stimulating discussion of Christianity, we can quote here merely the lines which concern the personality and the significance of Jesus.

"In considering the permanent significance of Jesus, we should remind ourselves that nowhere does the leading personality mean more than in the sphere of religion—this is in accordance with the chief aim of religion. Taken seriously, this aim may appear to be altogether unattainable. Or, does it *not* seem hopeless to lift man, in the midst of his human existence, to divinity; to ensure him, notwithstanding his dependence upon the course of the world, a self-dependent soul; to reveal to him, in the midst of temporal limitations, an eternity? Without an inversion of the natural view of the world and of life, without a miracle, it cannot be done. But this miracle is first accomplished in the life and being of creative personalities: then, by means of the nearness and tangibility thus won, it can be communicated also to others, and finally become a fact for the whole of mankind. . . . When so much depends upon the personality of the founder, it was an

incalculable advantage for Christianity, giving it a great superiority over all other religions, to be based upon the life and being of a personality which was raised so high and so securely above the lower things of human nature and above the antagonisms which ordinarily cleave life in twain. There appears here, united with homely simplicity, an unfathomable profundity; united with youthful gladness, a great seriousness; and united with the most perfect sincerity of heart and tenderness of feeling, a mighty zeal for holy things, and an invincible courage for the battle with the hostile world. Trust in God and love of man are here bound together in an inseparable unity; the highest good is at once a secure possession and an endless task. All utterance has the fragrance of the most delicate poetry: it draws its figures from the simple occurrences in surrounding nature, which it thereby ennobles; nowhere is there extravagance or excess, such as at once attracts and repels us in oriental types; instead, an exalted height of pure humanity in the form of pronounced individuality, affecting us with a marvellous sense of harmony. And this personality, by its tragic experiences, is at the same time a prototype of human destiny, whose impressive pathos must be felt even by the most hardened mind."

When we appreciate the significance of testimony such as this, to which much in the same spirit might be added, we have ground to hope that the time is not far distant when, to the raising of our whole life and to the triumph of truth, the barriers that have been set up between philosophy and theology will be broken down, and the great prophets—men who are something more than thinkers who spend their lives formulating systems—shall be recognised as revealers of truth to humanity, and when men shall be taught no longer to regard those experiences which do not come within the sphere of ordinary physical science, as subsidiary, or as a special concern of theologians which they use simply as a means, where possible, to shut out clear knowledge and to darken the understanding. Religion will then be acknowledged as creative life in the spirit of truth, and Jesus will be felt to be one who reveals to humanity, truth and love.

From the scholars we may be led over by H. St. Chamberlain to the general writers that we discuss later. His conception of Jesus has been formed from historical studies, and yet it reveals a strong personal life and the language of the poet. The spiritual nature of religion and its development is clearly appreciated by him, and it is from this point of view that he has understood Jesus. He has sought from him not simply a doctrine, but a life. "We are not Christians because we were brought up in this or that church, because we want to be Christians: if we are Christians, it is because we cannot help it, because neither the chaotic bustle of life nor the delirium of selfishness, nor artificial training of thought, can dispel the vision of the man of sorrow when once it has been seen."

His picture of Jesus is much more definite and much more correct than that which his master, Richard Wagner, drew. "On one occasion when Jesus was addressed, not simply as Lord or Master, but as 'good Master,' he rejected the appellation: 'Why callest thou me good? there is none good.' This should make us think, and should convince us that it is a mistaken view of Christ which forces his heavenly goodness, his humility and long-suffering, into the foreground of his character: these things do not form its basis, but are like fragrant flowers on a strong stem. What was the basis of the world-power of Buddha? Not his doctrine, but his example, his heroic achievement: it was the revelation of an almost supernatural will-power which held and still holds millions in its spell. But in Christ a still higher will revealed itself: he did not need to flee from the world. He did not avoid the beautiful, he praised the use of the costly—which his disciples called 'prodigality.' He did not retire to the wilderness, but from the wilderness he came and entered into life, a victor, who had a message of good news to proclaim—not death, but redemption! I said that Buddha represented the senile decay of a culture which had strayed into wrong paths: Christ, on the other hand, represented the morning of the new day: he won from the old human nature a new youth. Thus he became the God of the young, vigorous Indo-European races,

and under the sign of the cross there arose slowly upon the ruins of the old world a new culture—a culture at which we have still to toil long and laboriously until some day in the distant future it may deserve the appellation 'Christlike.'"

What is it that gives this new culture, this new type of man that appeared on earth in Jesus, its character? It is the change of the will, resulting in peace in the kingdom of heaven within us. To be as Jesus was, to live as Jesus lived, to die as Jesus died, that is the kingdom of heaven—that is eternal life. Such a conversion is not asceticism but the revival of all that is living and lovely, joyful and courageous, in our spiritual life. The spirit of Jesus makes man conscious of his moral purpose, and the necessity of conflict lasting for thousands of years for its achievement. In this spirit man revolts against the tyranny of Nature over his moral being, and evolves a sublime morality in accordance with his real being. When we ask for a more definite statement of the substance of this morality, and of the nature of the new humanity, we encounter not only the great defects of Chamberlain's description of Jesus, but also of the book as a whole, and of the author—a want of real definiteness of ideas—a defect that is hidden only by the tremendous force and feeling with which the individual living conceptions of the world and things are presented. What Chamberlain describes as peculiar to Jesus is the essence of all morality; the highest that one can say is that it manifests itself in Jesus with especial power and purity. If we wish to ascribe to the morality of Jesus a nature of its own, we must show what differentiates it from other moral conceptions of life.

Chamberlain's conception of Jesus may be said to be too modernised and too German, even if one places no value upon the drawn-out whim that Jesus was by origin half-Arabian. The spirit of Kant and of German Idealism has permeated this representation of Jesus far too much, notwithstanding the fact that otherwise Chamberlain sees quite clearly the limitations of the historical knowledge of Jesus. To-day, when on account of these limitations it is shouted out in the market-places and the

highways that Jesus is dead, as dead as the ancient idea of God, it is no longer possible to be silent about these things.

Jesus in General Literature.

To present Jesus as the saviour is not only the highest work for academical scholars, it is also the greatest task of the general writers who see him thus. We are not surprised that in recent times many have endeavoured to point those who long for better things to him as the best helper in life's greatest need, the need of the soul.

We might glance first at the little book of a theologian who has made the attempt, as a poet, to describe the Jesus whom he has felt so personally, as one who lives and speaks "to-day as our contemporary." Classen's story begins: "One evening he stood at the side of the dock and saw a crowd of workers disembark from a steamer, and he felt in his heart what love he had for all of them. He knew what they were—the true-hearted and the brave, the hasty and the slow, the evil and the indolent. And he thought: 'How I would like to make them better and happier. I can do it, yet why is it that nothing happens for them to put their attention upon me?' The workers passed by in a seemingly unending procession and did not notice him at all. Then, since nothing wonderful happened for any of them, he recognised: 'I must also become what I should be, through effort and work.'

"From that time he came forward publicly. He gathered around him some hand-workers and clerks, and they became his friends. He wrote no book and organised no political party, but so powerfully did his nature work upon his friends, that they became quite changed."

Later in the book, Jesus becomes a living reality for the children of the great port. Good it is that we possess such a book; but it is better that the gospel is so plain and so mirrors the eternal conditions of human life, that such a description in the external conditions of our own time is not essential.

Before he wrote his account of Jesus, Rosegger had already shown in his book, *The Kingdom of Heaven*, what he felt of Jesus, and the kind of Jesus men might expect to be described by him.

Once, when he was ill, he read the gospels one after the other. It was then he experienced his Jesus, as many others also have done: "What a Christ was that I found! A Christ, happy in God and the world, truly human in feeling, full of active power and submissive love, and at the proper time of warmest anger: the superman, the divine-man, in the highest sense. Until then I had not known him. I called my children and my wife to my bed, and I told them of the Christ that I had found, to walk with whom and to trust whom was a deliverance from all the anxiety and oppression of the world. And now they had to read whole passages to me; and though at first they were surprised at my enthusiasm for so old a matter, finally they understood my joy."

So Rosegger has tried to sketch for us this strong and spiritual man that he found and loved so well. Unfortunately, his work loses much of its force owing to the form that he has given to it, and the part that is taken up by the marvellous, which is of too external a kind. Miracle does not appeal to us when it is placed, as here, in the atmosphere of daily life. We can tolerate it in such writings as the books of the Bible, or in books of an elevated style; but only then as an expression of something spiritual and deep. In such cases as may be seen, for example, in Selma Lagerlöf's *Legends of the Christ*, where the marvellous is presented as due to an inner necessity, the marvellous has its charm. Rosegger's book, nevertheless, contains much that is lovely and good, and in it he has created for us a picture of Mary which is indeed a *Mater dolorosa* that speaks to what is best in our feelings.

Frenssen also has represented Jesus with the same personal insight and the same love as Rosegger, as one who himself feels the needs of the people. In the lives of six children who, born in "Hilligenlei," grow up in the midst of conflict and anxieties, to share in the sufferings and the small happiness that our world

gives, he has endeavoured to describe what torments his own soul. This time of troubles, with all its necessities, he has brought before us with a powerful realism, in fact too realistically for many who do not wish to know the evil that exists around and in them. In the midst he has placed Jesus—Jesus as he has found him, a brave struggling man. "If, under the gilt of tradition, it were possible to discover his real life, and it should be found and proved that he was a man, a brave honest man, and if we could make clear the depth of his soul, the holy faith upon which he stood, and on which he reaped his harvest . . . yes, we might then say: Come, look, here was a man such as we are who, established in religious faith, was filled with happiness and joy: come, we also will stand firm in this faith, and will strive for the regeneration of our race."

We may feel even from this short passage how Jesus appealed to Frenssen, and what was his great hope for his countrymen, and what his purpose in writing his book. Whatever else it may do, it will certainly rouse from their apathy many that are now self-satisfied. Nobody supposes that it will bring about the regeneration of the race. No book can do that, but only a living man with word and deed, with demands to make and an enthusiasm to impart: with a call for and an offer of self-sacrifice. Frenssen's picture also seems to suffer from its form: it is out of relation to its surroundings. Jesus never experiences the needs of the six children; nowhere does he show himself as their helper or their redeemer. We have to think but of Björnsen's *On God's Way* to recognise what is the difference between a real regeneration and merely feeling the promise of it. Frenssen's representation is within such narrow limits; as we may see fully by considering the form he gives to the Lord's Prayer. His Jesus is somewhat hasty: he is not the holy and clear-sighted, triumphant and confident figure of the gospels, a figure that no research has robbed us of. Frenssen's Jesus meditates and wavers; he broods too much over his own sufferings—that certainly is human—but majesty, calm, and power are also human qualities. Nevertheless there are many beautiful things in the

book, and it shows the workings of a soul that experiences and would give to all, what Jesus offers to men, "faith in the divine dignity and the value of every human soul, and growing out of this, faith in the nearness and the goodness of the eternal power, and springing up out of the same faith as good fruit from good soil, faith in the great tasks of humanity, and its high aim of the kingdom of God."

Ease and beauty of literary style have placed Anatole France first among modern French authors, and there is no Frenchmen of to-day who considers more carefully and freely than he the general problems of the life of the society and of the individual. Without fear, entering the lists to fight for causes which from the position of those in power are already "lost," his attitude is nevertheless that of a quiet, reflective mind surveying life, and with a subtle humour holding up various aspects to criticism. His analysis is always acute, and his construction suggestive. He accepts the general principles of Socialism, and associates himself with actual social movements. In the last section of *Sur la Pierre Blanche*, he paints a collectivist Utopia in which it is impossible for the individuals to be exploited by others, and in which no external compulsion violates the sanctity of love. We have suffered and still suffer from the form ecclesiastical organisations have taken. In his *Opinions Sociales* he says: "A long religious tradition, which still weighs upon us, teaches us that privation, submission, and sadness are desirable goods, and that there are special merits attached to voluntary privation. What an imposture! It is by saying to people that they must suffer in this world to be happy in the next, that there has been obtained from them a pitiable resignation to every oppression and every iniquity. . . . But it is joy that is good!" Men will no longer be denied justice and happiness now by a promise of it hereafter. Their whole attitude is different from what was once supposed. The type of life we have now determines for us whether we desire immortality. The idea of a recompense has less and less force. If life here is intolerable, then we would that it were all. We are to make the life we know of, the life we and

our children must live, as good as we can. "War will disappear in the future not on moral grounds, but because of its practical inconvenience and wastefulness." Though he does not give a definite detailed discussion, the works of France contain a subtle criticism of Christianity, especially in its Roman Catholic ecclesiastical form. Religions and institutions, as a rule, preserve little or nothing of the imprint of their first founders. Jesus in his own age was quite an insignificant, practically unknown and unnoticed person, and it seems that for this reason Anatole France has himself passed him over. But modern method demands that a thing shall be judged also by what it becomes—a germ or seed, for example, by the full-grown organism, the early families and tribes, by the great empires to which they lead. No one can deny that Jesus has meant, and still means an enormous amount to humanity, notwithstanding the external insignificance of the circumstances of his life.

Some of our writers have recognised this fact, and though not drawn towards him have considered him in relation to the problems of their lives. Among these is H. G. Wells. It is undoubtedly in the sphere of social life that Mr. Wells' deepest interests lie. When we have recognised the fact of his vivid imagination, and viewed his work in his own spirit, we see him as an earnest worker for social progress, and as a man of deep convictions of the way this is to be achieved. At the end of *A Modern Utopia*, he has given some account of the forces which have played the chief part in his mental development. After a close study of the Natural Sciences, he took up the study of psychology and ethics. These have given him a broader and a deeper view of the social problem than many modern writers have, but they suggest also the limitation from which his thought suffers. History and the nature of individual and social religious life have not had enough share of his attention. Wells is nothing if not an ethical idealist, and in the main there is harmony between his teaching and that of modern liberal Christianity, but there are steps in the latter that he does not take. Further, as a matter of fact, the person of Jesus, he says,

has no attraction for him. In his *First and Last Things* he has allowed us a glimpse of his fundamental beliefs.

"I see myself in life as part of a great physical being that strains and, I believe, grows towards beauty; and of a great mental being that strains and, I believe, grows towards knowledge and power. We are episodes in an experience greater than ourselves." Such passages show at once the nature of his training, and the difference between his position and the Christian belief in a personal God as the Father and source of all. When he speaks of Christianity it is of the orthodox Christianity of the creeds and not that of liberal adherents. "But the psychological experience and the theology of Christianity are only a groundwork for its essential feature, which is the conception of a relationship of the believer to a mystical being at once human and divine, the Risen Christ. This being presents itself to the modern consciousness as a familiar and beautiful figure, associated with a series of sayings and incidents that coalesce with a very distinct and rounded-off and complete effect of personality. After we have cleared off the definitions of theology, he remains, mystically suffering for humanity, mystically asserting that love in pain and sacrifice are the necessary substance of salvation. Whether he actually existed as a finite individual person in the opening of the Christian era seems to me a question entirely beside the mark. The evidence at this distance is of imperceptible force for or against. The Christ we know is quite evidently something different from any finite person, a figure, a conception, a synthesis of emotions, experiences, and inspirations, sustained by and sustaining millions of human souls."

Wells makes no attempt to ascertain what the original figure of Jesus may have been, even granting his existence, but he strives to make clear what is involved in the consciousness of the ordinary professing Christian. It is therefore of this latter that he says: "This great and very definite personality in the hearts and imaginations of mankind does not and never has attracted me. . . . I do not find myself able to associate him in any way with the emotion of salvation." The Christ

that Wells has in mind is "an incomprehensibly sinless being, neither God nor man," and he proceeds to give the grounds why this Christ fails to attract him. "The Christians' Christ is too fine for me, not incarnate enough, not flesh enough, not earth enough. . . . I could love him, I think, more easily, if the dead had not risen, and if he had lain in peace in his sepulchre, instead of coming back more enhaloed and whiter than ever, as a postscript to his own tragedy." Looking closer at the needs of his own life he says: "He had no petty weaknesses. Now the essential trouble of my life is its petty weaknesses. If I am to have that love, that sense of understanding fellowship which is, I conceive, the peculiar magic and merit of the idea of a personal saviour, then I need some one quite other than this image of virtue, this terrible and incomprehensible Galilean, with his crown of thorns, his blood-stained hands and feet." No ignorance of the power of hero-worship leads him to say this, for he also has felt the magic feeling that unites men. "It happens that in my younger days I found a character in the history of literature who had a singular and extraordinary charm for me; of whom the thought was tender and comforting; who indeed helped me through shames and humiliations as though he held my hand. This person was Oliver Goldsmith. His blunders and troubles, his vices and vanities, seized and still hold my imagination. The slights of Boswell, the contempt of Gibbon and all his company save Johnson, the exquisite fineness of spirit in his *Vicar of Wakefield*, and that green suit of his, and the doctor's cane and the love of despised things, together made him a congenial saint and hero for me, so that I thought of him as others pray."

Who but can feel the essentially human in such a confession, and in such an object of devotion? There is in the person and life of Goldsmith something which appeals as does no other writer in English literature. Yet Goldsmith was admittedly weak; he lacked the strength of character and the fundamental principles either to lift himself above his own petty weaknesses, or radically to help the people to whom he showed his kindnesses.

To be a saviour of men, something more is required than this essentially human feeling; it needs firmness of conviction and unflinching strength. He who wept with Martha and Mary at the loss of Lazarus, who could sympathise with the sinful Magdalene, could speak with authority and could face the angry crowd and calmly say, "Let him that is without sin amongst you, cast the first stone," and finally, could meet death for his convictions, had not only this human feeling, but the power to help. Those who by patient study have sought to gain a picture of the man Jesus, or at least to feel again his true character hidden by the legends and dogmas of almost nineteen centuries, will regret that Wells has not given more attention to liberal theology. He would have found there a man who had as much sympathy with sinners as any one we know, and who yet by his strength of character could lead to a renewed and higher life; who, with a winning power, could say: "Arise, go, sin no more." The study of the gospels gives us no adequate ground for asserting the sinlessness of Jesus, and it is only the exigencies of orthodoxy which can make such a dogma necessary. Nevertheless, as a matter of principle, it is not at all self-evident that a man must sin to be able to understand the feelings of sinners and to help them. If the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into a ditch? It would seem that given an understanding heart, the less sinful a man, the more he might help others. If Wells has not yet been attracted by Jesus, it is, we believe, that he has not yet learnt what Jesus was.

If we reflect over Wells' ideal Socialism we must see how much it is in harmony with the spirit of the teaching of the "Kingdom of God." The Marxian class-war idea of Socialism, he says, is "diametrically opposed to that religiously-spirited one which supplies the form of my general activities." "As Christians have dreamed of the New Jerusalem, so does Socialism, growing ever more temperate, patient, forgiving, and resolute, set its face to the world-city of mankind." Ultimately we have but another expression of the soul of Christianity, with its personal relationship of man and man, and man and God, when he says: "The

great synthesis *may* become incarnate in personal love, and personal love may lead us directly to universal service." The believer (*i.e.* in Wells' sense) "uses personal love and sustains himself by personal love. It is his provender, the meat and drink of his campaign." The possibility here admitted, the Christian ventures to affirm; he believes that it is on this personal love that the whole universe is sustained, for "man does not live by bread alone." If Wells could have gone further than his Natural Science, psychology, and ethics have led him, he might have found in an active life of personal beings, attaining and enjoying the perfection of personal love, a philosophical and religious view of men and God. Such a view would give to his and our present efforts a persisting worth, in which we should continue so to share, that the idea of immortality, far from being "distressing" and "perplexing" to him, would be a necessity.

Some Opponents.

Confessions of the power and living influence of Jesus do not lack opponents. To be silent concerning these would not be just. To give and discuss their reasons would be to repeat much that we have already said. For they start out either from the assumption that he never lived, or at least from the supposition that nothing of value can be known certainly about him. They complain of faults in his ethics and his social requirements, of the other-worldliness of his teaching, and its defects in relation to our own civilisation. The voice that has been heard most was that of Kalthoff, who, to make up for the defective historical bases of his work, sought to throw suspicion on the confession of the theologians we have quoted, ascribing it simply to anxiety for the Church, or to reverence for a decaying theology. In his hatred there spoke the anxiety of the modern man, who always fears that an attempt is being made to suppress his own life by the imposition of a law alien to his nature. He could not see that these theologians experienced, as, for example, Tolstoi did, Jesus as a present reality, and his ideal as something to be

realised in the future; not as something alien and foreign, but as most inward and truly their own. A short account of what "scientific" scepticism has to say against the historicity of Jesus may be found in the small book entitled *The Origin of Christianity*, written by one of those courageous writers who adopt pseudonyms. Moltmann has unearthed again the criticism of the eighteenth century. More earnest is Schnehen's book against the "modern cult of Jesus." In it we find repeated the Liberal and Socialistic criticisms that arise from the enthusiasm concerning culture, and these are augmented by some supposed new discoveries with regard to alleged defects in the personality of Jesus. We limit ourselves to merely mentioning him in order to pass on more quickly to the master hand at this kind of criticism: Edward von Hartmann. As it became more and more evident to him that his prophecy of the self-destruction of Christianity had its place among false prophecies, he strove once more, apparently equipped with the means of modern science, a year before his death, to do his work of destruction against new and increasingly powerful opponents. The *Letters concerning the Christian Religion*, written by him at an earlier date under the pseudonym of Müller, and passed over on account of the war of 1870, now appeared under the title of *The Christianity of the New Testament*. In it he tried to show that "Jesus was as little a genius as a moral ideal; and though a man of unusual spiritual gifts, had at the same time great intellectual defects; and again, though full of sublime and noble feeling, suffered from dangerous errors and deeply rooted human weaknesses." Let us hear him give a few examples of Jesus' intellectual defects.

They are supposed to be shown clearly in the miscarriage of the parables. The parable of the labourers in the vineyard is commented upon as "unfair and unjust," for "if one considers the relation of man to God, it is no longer a question of the literal fulfilment of equal contracts, but whether it is right and just that God should let men work such different times for the same fixed recompense, when for Himself the trouble and work of men can be neither necessary nor useful." This utter lack of

understanding, which places itself calmly on the side of the man to whom the householder says: "Is thine eye evil, because I am good?" corresponds well with the lack of humour with which the parable of the sleepy neighbour and that of the persistent widow are criticised. "The moral is that we should not become weary of praying continually: then God will lose patience, and will rather save the suppliant than suffer His ears to be filled any longer with prayers. What a sublime representation of God and of the divine grace!"

And so we go on from page to page in which a German professor endeavours to prove Jesus' poverty of spirit. In these criticisms, without being conscious of it, Hartmann makes use of defects in the tradition, which in another place he himself has recognised as later alterations of the sayings of Jesus. The moral inferiority of Jesus is to be seen, Hartmann thinks, in a disregard of the duties of work, property, and the family. "Jesus learnt the trade of a carpenter, but we nowhere read that he practised it, although this kind of work must have been needed everywhere. . . . Even if he did not wish to exercise the calling, he could at least have employed it symbolically, to express by it that at least in principle he acknowledged the utility and the necessity of work. . . . His lack of respect for the family is shown already as a boy of twelve years, when, without saying anything to his parents, he ran away, and on being found by them after very wearisome searching, he answered them haughtily, instead of penitently begging their pardon. Family feeling and dependence on the family, one of the most beautiful traits of Jewish character, he lacked entirely; and he continued consistently in the destruction of all natural duties. . . . He cannot serve us as an example in this connection."

To this utter lack of understanding for the spirit and teaching of Jesus, the writer adds slander, which he bases on an alleged extravagant homage paid to Jesus by some of the women amongst his disciples. There was, for example, the woman who was a sinner who kissed his feet and wiped them with her hair. But slander cannot live when brought face to face with the nobility

of his character: indeed, it serves rather to emphasise the strength and purity of his soul. We refrain, however, from quoting the words in which Hartmann descends to the lowest that he can find to insinuate against Jesus. We refrain not only out of respect to the sentiments of the religious mind, but also because here, more perhaps than in any other case, the disgust aroused must rebound essentially upon the one who makes the insinuation. We would rather cease; for, after all, Hartmann is counted among Germany's philosophers.

It is only what we expect, that since the time of Lombroso the man has come who explains Jesus as a neuropath. With a few rash references to supposed instances of ecstasy in the life of Jesus, he takes his fears and prayers in Gethsemane as an epileptic attack due to anxiety; and in the record of the driving of the people from the temple sees a typical attack of raving madness. The fame of such a "scientific" conception rests in the first place with the Danish student of theology, Emil Rasmussen.

The recent development of psychology as a specific science, with more or less clearly marked methods and aims, has given us a new outlook upon the characters of men and the forces which help to mould them. A few, carried away by the vigour of the new movement, think that the whole secret of a man's individuality is in the process of being laid bare. It is but a short time since Nordau, in his book entitled *Degeneration*, persuaded himself, and tried to convince others, that most of the great men of the nineteenth century, such as Wagner, Ibsen, Hugo, Nietzsche, were degenerates. It is not surprising that Jesus should be brought under the same point of view.

Jules Soury, in his *Jesus*, published in a third edition in 1898, starts out with the assertion, which to us appears quite gratuitous, and, moreover, untrue, that for the majority life has no meaning except in the hope of something beyond the grave. For himself, however, "there is no necessity that life, or even the universe itself, should have a meaning, and, as a fact, it has no meaning."

The explanation of beliefs in things beyond the mere present experiences of concrete objects, is to be found in morbid psy-

chology. "The visions of an epileptic gave Mohammedanism to the world. . . . The hallucinations of Jeanne d'Arc delivered France." Taking the ideas of the later Christian teaching, and everything in the gospels without distinction, Soury represents Jesus as seriously holding them all. "To-day, for the historian who works on a basis of Natural Science, Jesus, like the majority of great men, is no more than a problem for psychology." Every superiority is due either to heredity or to an excessive activity of some function of the organism. Jesus, Socrates, Pascal, and Newton were all neuropathic.

Jesus is represented as antagonistic to marriage: he did not marry, and he regarded celibacy as a state of grace. He exhorted men to mutilation of their bodies, and pronounced a blessing upon the sterile. "Blessed are the barren, and the womb that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck" (Luke xxiii. 29). Further, he advocated poverty, and was filled with anger against men and things. There is no doubt that among his own relatives he passed for a very strange creature, whom it was difficult to understand. The feeling that he inspired most was that of fear. His teaching was a preaching of repentance in view of the advent of the kingdom of heaven. "Demagogue and revolutionary, guilty of blasphemy and sedition, Jesus, according to the laws of his time, deserved death twice over."

To refute this account of Jesus, and to point out step by step the suppression of much of the most important of the evidence as to his character, and the misrepresentation of the passages made use of, is certainly not necessary. But one example is at hand in the passage from Luke quoted above, where, though no notice is taken of the context, the passage is made the basis of a definite charge. Jesus is reported to have said these words when he was foretelling sorrowful and awful times that were coming: "Behold, *the days are coming in which they shall say*, Blessed are the barren," etc. It is obvious that the circumstances in which this shall be said are exceptional. The meaning is more probably that sterility, at other times a misfortune, will in such circumstances of distress be something to be thankful for. To

make such a passage, wrested from its context, the basis of a serious charge is an example of the method of these writers.

The question of the value and the claim of Christianity at the present time is more a moral and a religious one than an intellectual one. The more imaginative and mystical doctrines of Christianity may be expected to die a natural death. Christianity, however, involves a definite type of moral and religious life which must either be accepted or opposed. A modern criticism of this view of life as popularly conceived is found in *The Idea of a Free Church*, by Henry Sturt. The book is written as from a general philosophical thinker, and the author seems to recognise only the traditional form of Christianity. He does not ask whether the usual conception of Jesus is a true one and the one which Jesus held of himself: neither does he consider whether the orthodox position is really and consistently believed in by those who profess Christianity. Sturt, as so many others, fails to grasp the essential method of studying a man's life and work, especially that of a religious, ethical, or political genius. As William James insisted, we have first to probe to the inner spirit and nature of the man—his fundamental "intuition"—by a general survey of the evidence as a whole, and then, in the light of this, to study intensively each detail of the evidence, to see the way in which it is to be interpreted to be as consistent as possible an expression of our subject's personality. We must first form some idea, however general, of the character of Jesus, his predominant ideals, his general attitude and all-permeating spirit. If the survey that was made earlier is in the main correct, it is just this distinctness and individuality of character that we can perceive in the accounts of Jesus. From that picture we have to consider each separate question: the attitude of Jesus to the individual problems of life, and the meaning to be attached to the single precepts and sayings alleged to be his. It is only to a superficial logic that such a method appears to involve a vicious circle.

"The whole episode of the career of Jesus, his little rustic mission in Galilee and pitiful death in Jerusalem, was a very trifling affair, a transient wave, a blood-stained eddy in the

whirlpool of that wild time." And yet what might arise, what has in this case indeed arisen, from so small a beginning! Notwithstanding Sturt's statement that orthodoxy comes to us from John and Paul, and has "no historical basis," it is ultimately this life, so insignificant when judged externally, that has led to modern Christianity. Without Jesus the work of John and Paul, however different from his, would never have been done, would never have been possible.

We have suffered, as well as gained, from the manner in which the idea of evolution has been propagated. Progress has been regarded as a far more simple thing than it is. Thus we find Sturt saying, "If we believe that human progress has religious significance, it is absurd to expect that the views of Jewish teachers of that age would be suitable to the twentieth century." We cannot here trespass into the field of the biological sciences to show how each new variation is, as it were, a new creation; we must limit ourselves to men and their history. The genius in any sphere is a genius just in that in which he excels over the generality of those of his own age, or of those who have preceded him. As a rule, few who come after reach his standard; and when they do so, it is often because he has taught the ideal and shown them the way to attain it. Talk as we may of environment and of heredity, we always find it impossible to pass from them to the heart of individuality. The "essence" of the genius always escapes us. The continuity, supposed by some to exist in the realm studied by Natural Science, cannot be definitely shown to have a rigid parallel in the psychical and spiritual. We cannot say *a priori* that a certain individual in any sphere was simply a product of the past, nor that in the future he will necessarily be surpassed: and it hardly seems possible to establish such a proposition *a posteriori*. There is nothing irrational in the view that the supreme religious genius appeared in history more than nineteen centuries ago. Even supposing that were the case, religious progress has still a definite meaning and reality if the rest of humanity are tending to the height of religious life manifested in such a one. For ourselves we find

no grounds for asserting that Jesus is the supreme and final religious genius. All we feel justified in saying, and all we need say, is that in the sphere of religion and morality we as yet know no one higher, and that under his influence and through his teaching, humanity is gradually rising to higher religious conceptions and emotions than was the case formerly.

All that is matter of principle. Sturt proceeds to give his concrete reasons for not regarding Jesus and the teachings of Christianity as an ideal for the present and the future. He contends that the "doctrine of natural depravity" is at the basis of Christianity. We must urge, however, that this teaching is not to be found in the religion of Jesus. Who, with any experience at all of the spiritual strength required, in the face of opposition and indignities such as Jesus met with, to conquer one's animal instinct of retaliation by the manifestation of a personality above such indignities, would say that Christianity is a "gospel of weakness and submission"? How little this and such writers have understood the method to be applied in the study of moral and religious teaching and personalities, may be seen from such a passage as the following: "The ancestral code of Israel forbade murder; Jesus forbids anger: the ancestors forbade adultery; Jesus forbids an unchaste look: the ancestors forbade false swearing; Jesus, here borrowing from the Essenes whom he had met often in Judea, forbids all swearing whatever: the ancestors said 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth': Jesus says 'if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him also,' and when a man would take your coat, 'let him have your cloak as well': the Essenes were despisers of riches and assisted those in want; Jesus says, 'Sell all thou hast and distribute to the poor.' What are blows, coats, money to men before whose eyes floats ever the vision of the end of the world and the day of the 'Son of Man'? . . . It is agreed by all men of worldly experience that these precepts, if practised thoroughly, mean the ruin of personal character and the dissolution of the social order." It is not this mechanical following of precepts, but life swayed by love, that Jesus asks. Yet it

is indeed true that "personal character" and the "social order," as we now know them in all but a few men, would undoubtedly be "ruined" and "dissolved" by the following of Jesus. It is "men of worldly experience" who refuse to make the great change involved in Jesus' call to "repentance." The real requirements of the teaching of Jesus we have often enough considered so that we do not need to repeat them again here.

The person of Jesus does nevertheless appear to make some appeal to Sturt. He sees in him a man "aimiable" and of "personal charm," "sensitive and affectionate"; yet "capable of blazing up into anger with the closest friends"; "simple and straightforward, but capable of subtle argumentation"; "enthusiastic and devoted to a great cause; cultured but quite unspoilt by culture; ambitious in the spiritual sense, but innocent of temporal aggrandisement." "The figure of the authentic Jesus is admirable. . . ." And "if we are to worship an *idealisation*, Jesus is as good as any man in history." (Italics ours.)

How far that is from picturing the saint and prophet that comes before us in the gospels! Jesus is not to be worshipped; humanity does not need a man to worship. He is the first among many worshippers in an ideal relationship, that of love between men and God, and this worship is not a passive adoration, but an active participation by each and all.

Jesus our Saviour.

With that we might conclude. No one can be argued into faith; he who manifests it is a spiritual acrobat. A man has faith because it is a necessity of his nature. Whether a man is conscious of it, and whether he feels it in relation to Jesus or not, it is the highest question of his life. In fact, it is a question which concerns all. This book has been written with the desire to help men to an answer to the question, and to lead them to Jesus as he who can give us the best answer to the ultimate difficulties of our life; an answer, the truth of which convinces us. If there are some who have not been helped by our account

of Jesus, we do not doubt that he can help them. We would ask those to whom this book makes no appeal to go to others, in the first place to the gospels and to Jesus himself. It is not to be supposed that a book, the religious instruction in school, or a few sermons, can lead us deep enough into the essence of Christian experience. The decision lies deep within us, and not within us simply as individuals of the present time. Before men thought to give instruction in religion, as they do mathematics in school, mankind had been religious for thousands of years. Children, even though the kingdom of heaven belong to such as resemble them, cannot possibly possess an adequate judgment concerning the questions and problems of life, which have led men to a belief in God. The age of adolescence, when a man goes through his fiercest religious conflicts and becomes sceptical regarding his early beliefs, is not the time when a man should finally settle the great questions of his life; for at that age, along with the bursting forth of new life, there is a breaking away from the old, and a desire for the new and the strange; an effort for independence and for personal interests. Religion is an ever-active life which is constantly renewing itself; it is a reality for adults, a life-question for the mature. God is not a proposition that one believes in, but a truth that one lives.

The attempt may still be made to show that to-day also Jesus gives us an answer to the religious question even in its new form as we have studied it. Men cannot, even if they would, pass over the question of religion and Jesus' answer to it.

There are three delusions which lead men to dismiss or cover up this question. The first is "the pride of life"; entire absorption in work and the anxiety of daily toil; that self-forgetfulness and the passing through life with nothing but half-truths and habits, in superficial doubts and expressions of belief, in coarse or refined pleasures, in the enjoyments that the average life usually offers. This is the most common way of forgetting the reality and the earnestness of life. The second delusion is that of Science. Men suppose that religion has been overthrown for ever, and that Science can give a solution to the riddle of the

universe, an answer to all the problems of life. Nevertheless, Science, in the first instance in the "exact" sciences, does not go beyond what can be seen with the eye and the microscope, or that can be counted or analysed. It offers us nothing in relation to our conscience or our feelings, and for that reason only the dryasdusts can remain satisfied with it alone. The better men of our day, who have lost the religious faith of their childhood and have not become victims of the superstitions of Science, have mostly fallen under the third delusion, that of doubt on everything, that of a scepticism that views life with a tired indifference or contemptuous hopelessness. Even when this scepticism disguises itself in the garb of an æsthetic interpretation of and attitude towards life, the delusion is none the less still there, and some day men become aware of it and suffer, for they find that life treated thus is played with rather than lived.

All this is bound up with the ultimate fact that as we live now we do not penetrate to the heart of things, but simply touch the surface; and even this in the first place only with fear. The secret of our life is that we are active beings, and that as such we are responsible. Our nature itself urges us to activity. Even the man of "no occupation" is active, since he degenerates from the position in which he could and ought to work. The dryasdust may overlook this fact; the æsthetic individualist may wish to hide it from himself; but some day or other the truth will out. There is something beyond us, which has brought us into life; and we cannot wait till humanity and we ourselves have examined everything before we make our decision: always, every day and every hour, life demands decisions from us, compels us to activity. Man is an active being even before he begins definitely to think.

The recognition of this fact of activity, of its possibilities, and of the responsibility dependent upon it, is the turning-point upwards to Jesus, or downwards to selfishness, or over to the twilight of Buddhistic resignation. The question is whether a man is attracted by the goodness of Jesus; whether he learns from him that love is the meaning of life, and that, in this fact of our activity and through our guilt, a loving God stretches forth

His hand. There are men who never adequately recognise this truth. There are others who are filled with a pure and ever-active love for men: for love is at least as natural as thoughtlessness and selfishness. There are some who are seized with a strong and joyful feeling of the good that streams from Jesus and from all who, after him, received their rays from him, or, before him, looked up to the star in the heaven of humanity. Most men come at some time to recognise with startling clearness that they have lived in thoughtlessness and selfishly. And if Jesus appears to a man then, he will feel first of all his guilt, and this the more profoundly as the goodness of Jesus impresses him. This is "a new birth," as the Bible says in an old-fashioned, now disliked, but true expression. It is the change that we call renewal of life, that often comes through some tragic experience. The tragic was the highest to which the ancient world attained. The attitude of antiquity was the presentation of a supposed "justice" in life itself. At the moment of the tragedy the guilty one is taken from the garden of earth, with its rosy light, where he understands his guilt,—for tragedies both ancient and "just" are without hope. Christian faith transcends this "justice": it is the certainty that the feeling of guilt is only the beginning of a new life in which man, even in the feeling of guilt itself, recognises his relation to God. Lessing saw that there can be no "Christian" tragedies. Tolstoi's *Resurrection* is a Christian "drama." Like a tragedy, it makes one shudder to recognise how a man is thus shaken in soul, and step by step purified; how by slow advance he mounts higher through the rejection of all that leads to selfishness and selfish pleasure.

The decision a man makes when the greatest problem of life comes upon him, or perhaps we ought to say, that which then has greatest power over him, determines his fate. For nobody can say absolutely how his decision is arrived at, whether it is a choice or necessity. But some kind of decision is made when the life of delusion no longer satisfies, and a man recognises that he must in some way live his own life; live with self-conscious vigour; must *be* something. If at that hour of his life Nietzsche

appeals to him more than Jesus, if not love and sacrifice, but the development of his own personality, the striving for everything that appears bright to his own nature, is chosen by him: it may be he acts thus of necessity. We disciples of Jesus cannot compel him, and we will not condemn him; who knows when the hour might come when he will sing his "evensong" and curse his "new tables"? It must not be supposed that he who finds Jesus in such an hour must suppress his own nature, all that is best and natural in him. The wonderful saying of Jesus—he who loses his soul will find it—is perhaps much wider in its implication than we are apt to think. A man cannot develop his personality other than in the service of love to others. The pride that disfigures Nietzsche's most beautiful work, a pride only somewhat modified by the fact that in *Zarathushtra* he placed himself in opposition to that ideal; the pride which degraded Wilde's life to a mere pose: that is the result of continual attention to one's "personality." The essential nature of life, as active, is felt again in work. As we do not learn to see and hear except in contact with external things and men around us; as we should not become "I" without the presence of a "not-I," to use a philosophical expression: so we shall not become ideal personalities without unconditional submission, the sacrifice of our lives. He that will be first must be the servant of all.

Jesus himself is the best proof of that. Was he not a personality of such power that for centuries men have obtained power *from him*? And is there not something significant in the fact that not simply an Oscar Wilde, but also Naumann, could look upon him as the free man, as an ideal personality "there in the dim past"? "In the early dawn he wanders alone. But there is movement in the air which recalls to me the saying: so the son of God makes you free, ye shall be truly free! He is the most perfect personality in the history of humanity. All ye who would become personalities, go to him! All who would learn to overcome the fear of death, to bear insult, to face ingratitude, truly to estimate misunderstanding, to take no notice of the judgment passed upon them, to be patient in pain, to work, to

look forward without fear, to spend themselves without looking for reward, all who would learn to attack the old powers, to destroy false piety, to build new spiritual worlds, to make small souls great, all who while in the world would be above it, let them call him!"

Cast a glance back to that other ideal of the æsthetic individualist, to that selfish striving for the development of the personality. Most of those who begin thus, end in finding life shallow and meaningless. Having gone forth to find themselves, they finally desire nothing more strongly than to be free of their "personalities," and to vanish in Nirvana, or in the silence of the grave. So in actual experience it becomes manifest that love is the essence of life, since in seeking their own pleasure men come to desire death and the termination of their earthly life.

We cannot feel the appeal of Jesus without being led to acknowledge the truth of his deepest convictions. To take him without his "teaching" is to pretend to have gone beyond him. Even in such a case he could be regarded as a very good man, but he could not be taken any more as the one who with his clear vision and his heart full of love had grasped the deepest truth. Only when that which he fully explained to us in his preaching dawns upon us as the meaning and aim of life, and that by which he appeals as a living being to us, is he a present power. Here it is impossible to separate principle and being, doctrine and person. One depends upon the other. True, he who feels the appeal of Jesus, in the first place only needs to see the meaning of life in love, as Jesus taught and showed it, as joy in man, trust in him and work for him; as the reverse of all selfishness, pride, and hypocrisy; as the rising above all self-righteousness. A man who lives such a life will undoubtedly experience the truth in that which Jesus believed and taught concerning God, forgiveness, and the soul of man.

The particular forms in which he thought of the heavenly Father, the souls of men in the fire of hell and Abraham's bosom, and preached the great change in which the other world should "break into" ours, have all passed away with the old conceptions of the world.

Hermann is nevertheless right when he continually reiterates how necessary it is that the man who, in the decisive moments of his life, feels the appeal of Jesus, should acknowledge the real power of the faith that Jesus had in God.

To the man who begins to live according to the will of this God there come thousands of signs confirming him in his belief. He who begins in all simplicity with the things of every day to turn his life into a service of love for others, soon observes how, from what he does, still more love and happiness spring up, inward and outward, and how, wherever he goes, he himself meets love. Not in the time of Jesus alone, but at all times, love has aroused what is deepest in men's hearts. Such a one becomes more and more confirmed that he has taken the right side in life, as Tolstoi has described in his remarkable account: "That from which Men Live." Looking into history this man will see the hard paths by which humanity has risen from the mere animal to man; the way in which love has become ever greater and ever deeper. He will see how the love of children and of parents has become more ideal; how marvellous are the forms it has taken, right up from its form as blood revenge, by which the family and the tribe were protected before the evolution of the State and of law. He will see also how the love of fellow-countrymen and of the State widened and transformed this older form of love in order to found a nobler one.

Then he will see how love grew deeper and wider so as to include the stranger that is "within the gates"; and so, finally, to men everywhere, even to slaves and the conquered enemy. Man, once to his fellow-man as a "wolf," becomes holy to him. The deepest came in Jesus in his love to the sinner and the oppressed. Here is love not simply to one's own enemy, or the enemy of one's country, but also to the enemy of God. Since Jesus, love has always proved triumphant: not yet in actuality, but in conviction and inner truth. The centuries have been filled with conflict against selfishness in a multitude of forms, but the final victory is never in doubt. Though the last banner of animality be raised, though one preach to us the excellence of the "blonde

bestie": that is but the last struggle of doubt due to an instinct that has not yet entirely died. From Stirner to Nietzsche is itself a step back from crass selfishness to love for the great personality with its power to give. So from honest work in the service of others, faith grows ever more living and secure. Then in the light of the revelation in which Jesus and the whole company of witnesses—all those good and divinely inspired prophets in history—have manifested the secret of life, a man will attempt once more to explain "the signs in Nature." He will no longer look for miracle as proof of the power of a divine being over a Nature destitute of God. Jesus rejected such signs out of reverence for the greatness of God and the conscience of men: he will discountenance them also out of respect for God's continuous, orderly and purposeful activity. He will not try to dispute the theory of evolution; for God will appear to him more powerful, if from this and other conceptions of modern knowledge, he comes to see how the world is sustained through His eternal laws. Does not the order of the world show us without room for doubt a wisdom and magnificence that astonishes us, and does not our astonishment increase the more we come to know of what lies between the infinitely great and the infinitesimally small? If we have succeeded, or if we should succeed, in bringing the world of living organisms into a great "tree" of natural evolution, can we be satisfied in interpreting its course and action as something mechanical? Is that the only explanation for which there is room or motive? No, the world becomes of ever deeper significance to us the more we try to probe its meaning. What a man feels to be beyond the present appearances as ultimate, whether an indescribable matter or a holy personal Will, is not decided by Science, but by his inner experience, his faith: the decision is made in that "crisis" of his life that we saw to be necessary.

But are there not, at the entrance to the paradise of faith, two angels with flaming swords, who drive from thence him who with yearning heart would enter? Do not suffering and sin tell us clearly that there is no God? With the earlier conception of the world it was easy to talk of these things, for that conception

was not a real monotheism: the devil and his horde darkened life; God was impotent against the two awful evils of suffering and sin that had come into the world. Were those who talked thus right in what they said? What shall we reply to them? First this, that none can presume to explain all the suffering that life involves. We know to-day far greater catastrophes than that of the tower of Siloam killing eighteen people. True as is Jesus' answer, "Unless ye repent and become other men, so shall ye all die," to-day or to-morrow, thus or otherwise, it is no solution to the problem. To-day in the new knowledge that in the organic world conflict and pain, the struggle for continued existence, for life's necessities, is a fundamental law of life, one of the chief means by which the higher is to be produced, many feel the problem much more acutely. But here we have to guard ourselves from over-sensitiveness and too excessive a softness.

In the very reason why man suffers more than the animal lies the way of salvation from suffering. Man experiences life's necessities and conflicts, the loss of life and of loved ones, other than does the animal. For man there is redemption, since in his darkest hours the star of faith and love may always appear to him. Suffering is something inward, and must be overcome by something inward. Not pain and illness, not need and care, in themselves, are suffering, but they become suffering, oppressing or raising us, leading us morally upward or pulling us down, producing joy or despair, just according as we accept them. Is it necessary to give examples? Where does need and poverty commence? What seems to one to be insufficient, another finds more than enough. A third prays even that he might hunger, since to be satisfied leads to monotony and indolence.

And what of death, concerning which, in our emasculated age, so much fuss is made by those who hold pitifully on to life? Is it really for all an awful murder?

How differently all these things must be regarded by those who do not piously submit to them! He who in suffering holds fast to that which the good hours of life have shown him; he who meets suffering with faith in God and with love, can make it a

source of good, can even win from it a deep joy such as the life of selfishness can never know. He feels that his suffering, when he meets it with a heart that has accepted love as life, helps him to goodness, in that it makes him more spiritual and refined; opens his eyes to the needs of others; and prepares him to sacrifice all for the good. Each may thus submit to and accept, interpret, and rise above his own suffering. To others such a man will be more than one who has answered the riddle: he will help them to redemption from their own suffering. To one who bears his suffering, and becomes gentler and kinder through it, becomes ready even to make the final sacrifice, thousands will come. The cross has become a sign of benediction for humanity.

But guilt? Does not that cause us even greater doubt? If we admit that evil is something actual and real in the world, how can we trace the world back to a "Father in Heaven," to a holy Will, and only to that? While, if we deny it real existence, if we suppose guilt to be only a feeling in the heart of man, who must perfect the eternal law of his being, do we not thus open the door to levity and crime? Who can solve for us that riddle of riddles, whether man is free, and has responsibility, or not? None have solved this riddle and none have raised this veil. Only men whose thought is shallow imagine that they have an answer to these questions. We are in the midst of difficult problems. We find ourselves within the flowing life of humanity, from which we spring but which we cannot entirely survey: with the same certainty we have the feeling of responsibility. The more distinct the great and the good become to us, the more we feel that we ought to be able to do that which yet appears to be beyond our power. Only one method is open to us: to put *the question* of power on one side and boldly to attempt and to will, and finally to follow the feeling of guilt to the forgiving heart of God. We have already spoken of that. Once a man is inspired to active striving towards the ideal, he will realise that the feeling of guilt has been due to the wonderful working of God. For in the feeling of guilt we first become aware that we are able to respond to the beauty and to acknowledge the claim of the ideal.

And this feeling of guilt is an inexorable power, that leads to ever increasing good in our lives. Our feeling of guilt reveals in itself God's forgiveness; for we see that He views us as still capable of being His fellow-workers for good. He leads us thus, that we might strive with Him to free the earth of sin. Though man may be to some degree a product of his circumstances, we know also that he may modify and alter those circumstances. Let us see that our children do not grow up in conditions that will oppress them! If man is a "bundle" of inherited qualities, let us take care that our children inherit from us something new, good, and healthy! Let us condemn no man, but follow Jesus who "forgave seventy times seven," and spoke of the joy that there is in heaven over one sinner that repents and turns to his Father. Deep and earnest must the life of that man become, who does not believe it possible to solve every question theoretically, and feels that though life itself is mysterious, it becomes bright in the activity of love when the mind has its ultimate faith in God. If man is not born free, he may nevertheless strive and come to freedom in maturity. The purity and independence of the personality which has become clear to us as the result of the submission of our will through the influence of Jesus; the great and irresistible power, which we have ourselves experienced in relation to Jesus, is not that the perfect freedom of man? The freedom that is represented as the power to follow one's fancy is a phantom, for it chains man under the power of things and of other men. The freedom that is a growth in goodness, is a truth; for by it man wins in God an independence of the whole world.

Faith in God thus silently grows strong, though not without doubts, and through conflicts and defeats, in the hearts of those to whom Jesus has appeared distinctly and magnificently as a redeemer. This faith proves itself true in face of suffering and guilt, since in them men are brought ever more deeply and intensely to the feeling of the nearness of God as a power making for all righteousness, transcending our confused world and erring souls. Why was it that Tolstoi, and so many others, could not

find this "Father in Heaven"? Because they still believed that Science had once for all put an end to the possibility of rational belief in God, and made it impossible for us any longer to think of and believe in anything beyond the immediate transient world. There are many who still adopt this attitude, far too many. Life will, however, assert itself against all these theories, and men will find the courage once more to regard as personal the power that lies beyond the world, and to commune with Him "as children with their father."

In this faith it can be understood why the highest is held to be possible, even though it go beyond our present power. None should start out with the idea that he can commence with the highest, with love to all, even to the enemy; or that he can make the highest sacrifice. He who in following Jesus is really raised above care and suffering, will be oppressed by no external hindrance, nor be made incapable of the will to love. He who has himself experienced the highest of all, the good God, who forgives him his sin and raises him up to Himself, will no longer desire to take his fellow-servant "by the throat," but will forgive him, believing that he also is called to become a child of God and to be filled with love. He will also experience a quiet joy in relation to those who look up with him toward God, even though at present he may still be far from feeling this joy in its fulness.

We shall "never" come to an end of our endeavour, perhaps "never" be perfect in our own eyes. When the Master has said, "Why callest thou me good, one is good: God!" his disciples should feel it much more intensely. From that arises a final and great hope. There is no proof of the immortality of the soul, but there are grounds for believing that the spiritual life that we commence in this world does not cease at the moment when we suffer physical death. It is not a mere sensuous desire to prolong life in the present world that leads to the hope of immortality. He who has found the Father in Heaven in this life, has experienced so much happiness that he would joyfully accept final dissolution at the hour of his death. In any case he

will quietly and willingly leave himself in the hands of God; let Him do as He will. We all have the feeling that we are but fragments of what we should and shall be—all, not merely those poor broken human souls who, through the necessities and the difficulties of life, have been broken down before maturity. We are all imperfect, and yet we all find ourselves here in this world with a deep longing for and tendency towards perfection. The yearning for perfection is in all of us as something that we cannot suppress, and our love leads us irresistibly to desire and in some way to pray for perfection for all. He who has found the Father has faith that He will lead all His children to perfection. The "how" we do not know. The outlook to things beyond seems closed to all the questions raised by the spirit of curiosity. This final longing and highest hope of ultimate perfection remain to all those who through Jesus strive to be children of God, and who feel that a Father rules over this apparently chaotic life of the world.

The love and the faith we have endeavoured to describe, Jesus still produces to-day as one who is present with us. There is nothing in the experience of the present time, either in its knowledge or in the actual facts of its life, that make such love and faith impossible. Rather the happiness and the peace of this world depend upon these two becoming stronger, and upon men coming more to Jesus. The way that we have described is not the only way to love and faith. To some God and Jesus may appeal in a way other than to us: some may come to faith in God and to love, without a conscious attachment to Jesus. Both Nature and good men besides Jesus may lead us to God. They who seek God with all their heart must, however, some day on their way meet Jesus.

CHAPTER VII.

IN THE NEW CENTURY.

The beginning of a new century does not signify the commencement of a new tendency in the life of humanity or of the individual. Nevertheless, all who have lived through the last years of the old and the earliest years of the new century, know that during this time there has been, as it were, the expectation of a new age. Men have endeavoured to estimate the truth and the value of what the past has handed on to us, and with fresh courage have taken the good, in order with its aid to create something new. It is with the purpose of thus surveying the past and of establishing our position for the present time that we have written this book.

Far too little of the twentieth century has passed for us yet to say what will be the predominant tendencies of religious life in it as a whole, or even indeed in its earlier decades. The faith of Ostwald in wishing, at the meeting of the Monists in Hamburg, already to stamp the whole century as "Monistic," was as child-like as that of the bold Pietist who dreams of the triumphant progress through it of "the beautiful Lord Jesus." Both are anxious to give to men a meaning for their life and a philosophy of existence which will not represent them as enslaved by material, mechanical, or economic necessity. Alongside of these two positions may be placed as a third that advocated in this book, and championed by theologians and philosophers. Indeed, we hope this attitude will be adopted with greater assurance, so truly are we convinced that the eternal powers that Jesus has to give to humanity, and the noble thoughts that we inherit from the great men of the past, are the greatest and the best things we

possess. Monism, under the influence of Ostwald, has taken up a very one-sided Rationalism, which has already been transcended in the course of history. It will recognise nothing as valid which does not satisfy its own narrow standards of the rational. It will hear nothing of those deeper forces that are ultimately the chief factors in our lives. Pietism in a similar manner, as we see in Germany in the cases of Jatho and Traub, continually unites itself with a shortsighted and unchristian conservatism, which thinks it can draw men from a free Christianity by dismissing its advocates from office and by attempting to discredit them in the eyes of their fellow-citizens.

The conflict of these two tendencies against those who point to the historical Jesus and to those efforts made in his spirit to raise the life of men, has given its stamp to the first years of the century so far as it is concerned in seeking a true conception of life.

This conflict is not difficult to understand. Nevertheless, as we have seen, during the last hundred years the historical Jesus has been brought more and more into the foreground in theology, and by earnest work in the last generation placed in the centre of the conflict concerning a new view of the world and of life, concerning the religion of the present time, as well as the moral determination and worth of man. This movement became increasingly evident when at the beginning of the century modern theology began an earnest propaganda, and so many read Harnack's *What is Christianity?*: and the large editions of the works of Frenssen and Rosegger brought thousands near to Jesus who otherwise had at first no real desire to hear anything of these matters of the spiritual life. It is also a sure sign of the spiritual condition of a people when Art tries to find motives in ever new and living intuitions. And from that time poets and painters, musicians and sculptors, began to present to us the picture of Jesus, no longer in its traditional dress, but as they themselves had conceived him from their own experience and their independent study of history. The early years of the century gave many signs that it wished for little from the Church, and not much more

from Christianity, but that many went forth to Jesus in the greatness of his humanity.

It was only natural that there should be a reaction led by those who sought answers to life's questions in other ways, and who desired to regard Jesus at most as the expression of a Christian idea, either social or religious, but not as a historical person with a definite life and character. Questions which at an earlier date had only arisen in theology now became the occasion of oppositions and conflicts in the life of the people.

The struggle began with Kalthoff's wild attacks upon the liberal "Court theology" of Harnack. Starting out from a conception implicating an economic theory of history not recognising the reality of great personalities; regarding social democracy as the way of universal salvation, and Monism as the only true conception of the world, but in its profoundest depths intoxicated with Nietzsche's gospel of the Superman, Kalthoff denied the historicity of Jesus in order once for all to cut the ground entirely from beneath the feet of hated opponents. Then the Society of Monists, which in essentials follows Haeckel, evoked the great sensation in which the Monism of Arthur Drews, who follows Hartmann, was united with the mystical Monism of his publisher, Eugen Diederichs. It is well known how high feeling rose, even though only for a short time: for sensations do not endure. It is also well known how the popular leaders of Pietism answered the question: Did Jesus ever live? with the statement: "Jesus lives." Yet Arthur Drews was a support to the literary advocates of a conservative and pietistic Christianity in their endeavour to free themselves of the historical Jesus of research, whom they regard as but a fancy of the "liberal" theologians.

In the conflicts of our day the spiritual tendencies of the nineteenth century continue their course; but although the fight concerning religion and the Church may have become more animated, nothing essentially new has so far been produced. There is perhaps something new in the life of the youth of to-day. That life has assumed a remarkable character, and possibly an enthusiastic movement among the people may start from it.

Nevertheless that life has no relation to the more profound ideas of the nineteenth century: it reveals only the desire to be young, to be free, to sing, to play the lute and to dance excitedly, to roam on the hillsides, and with merry comrades to be happy with the feeling of an absence of all need. Youth regards such an attitude as a redemption and as a transcendence of all those needs which troubled the preceding century. For in it men sought salvation in external circumstances, in reforms, and in systems, but in vain; while now, with this absence of needs a man is happy, healthy and gay, in harmony with every poor brother on the road. It is far too early to predict what will endure of this new life, and what new relation it will find to what was good in the life of the past.

Recent Theological Research.

The intensity with which the preaching of the historical Jesus has been combated can be more easily understood when one has a clear idea of the results of recent theological research, and when one thinks of the impression which this research must make upon those who are not theologians, as well as upon those who approach it with the desire to reveal its mistakes and, indeed, its utter futility. For the impression is easily formed that this research yields nothing but criticism, and that what remains has no close and fundamental relation to our life. Much of recent research has occupied itself with problems raised by ecclesiastical dogma. Was the Holy Communion instituted by Jesus or not; and if so, what did he mean it to signify? Did Jesus regard himself as the Son of God and as the Son of Man, and if he did so, what did he mean by such expressions? Did he tell the disciples that he was the Messiah? Did he predict his death, and did he give it a special significance in relation to the welfare of humanity? What did he mean by the Kingdom of Heaven? was it something inward and spiritual, or merely an external transformation of the world? Even yet such questions cannot be answered, for it is just in reference to such matters that the

gospels diverge most from one another. Thus, though these questions were the object of continual research, the answers given to them by scholars differed immensely, even when they followed the same methods and acknowledged the same general principles in their historical work. Those who took up a negative attitude towards these things appeared to be the most thoroughgoing and consistent, and they did not conceal their disdain of the "mediating position" of the others. All such radical attitudes appear particularly honest and make a great impression. The works of Eichhorn have that effect: he wished to strike out not only the Last Supper, but also all the references to suffering, from the life of Jesus. Then, in 1901, Wrede declared "the mystery of the Messiah in the gospels" to be an invention of apologists, and he made it clear that he did not at all suppose that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah. On the critical theology that has grown up on this "mystery" he pronounces many harsh judgments in his book. With the same effect, in his book *From Reimarus to Wrede*, in his scornfully superior manner, Albert Schweitzer depreciated almost everything that historical research had hitherto achieved, and in that at the same time he gave a high position to his greatest opposite Wrede, was thus able to give the appearance of objectivity. Finally came Wellhausen's commentaries on the gospels, which with much spirit and great precision declared almost everything to be spurious except a small portion of the gospel of Mark. The acuteness of the criticism made a great impression on all who looked up to Wellhausen as the pioneer in the study of the Old Testament and did not themselves take part in research on the gospels.

Those who wished to deny the historicity of Jesus accepted all of these results. They stated them in a more definite manner, and acted as though nothing historical remained. Indeed, they believed that was the case, and they decided that if in these "essential points" no "scientifically recognisable facts" could be established, then the search for the true picture of the historical Jesus is a mistaken one. They entirely overlooked, or at least they did not inform their readers, that what is

fundamental in the picture of Jesus remained entirely unaffected by criticism. For, however important the questions of doctrine and of the Kingdom of God may have been for Jesus, and may be for us, the other spiritual questions, answers to which have been specially asked of him during the last hundred years, are still more important. Concerning the answers to these questions there are few or no differences of opinion amongst scholars. Besides, all of these theologians had said that their criticism had not for one moment placed in question either the historicity of Jesus or the possibility of knowledge about him. Wrede says emphatically that his opinion concerning the passages from the source of the sayings (Q) is different from that he holds concerning Mark. Schweitzer took up a very confident attitude to almost all the traditional sayings of Jesus: what he disputed was only the meaning that has been placed on them since. Though his commentaries are mainly sceptical, Wellhausen has not withdrawn the impressive sketch of the gospel of Jesus that he gave at the end of his history of the Jews. But all these facts were forgotten, overlooked, or intentionally kept back, and so the impression was given that the theology working on a basis of history was bankrupt.

Kalthoff especially—indeed before Wellhausen's work—insisted that a method which produced results that agreed in so little, must be false. Such an argument is obviously incorrect: for the attainment of common results may be hindered by the great difficulty of the problem. It soon became evident that those who disputed the historicity of Jesus also contradicted one another in their assertions, and that no two were in real accord except in the fact that they fought against the same opponents.

Another factor also became prominent in this conflict. Penetrating and accurate work had now been done in the research in the history of religion, and Christianity was shown to have very close relationship to the religions of antiquity. In contrast with earlier research, which had isolated Christianity from other religions, emphasis was placed entirely upon the similarities, and upon the influences they had exerted upon it. So one could easily

suppose that Christianity is simply a combination of elements from ancient religions, and Jesus nothing but a god of redemption conceived by the imagination of the pious from the redemptive gods of these religions—that it is simply a new "Christian" mystery religion. Yet in these works the whole emphasis was placed upon the messianic problem, and the real facts of the gospel and the life of Jesus played no part. Men were led to look for what is essential in Christianity in the conception of the Messiah, and since it seemed possible to explain that conception from the religions of the Roman Empire, they could contend that they had succeeded in deriving the whole of Christianity from the tendencies current at that time.

Modern Science and Psychology.

Though it would be wrong to suppose that there are very many students of Natural Science who recognise the truths in Christianity, it can be safely asserted that the predominant attitude of leading scientists at the beginning of the twentieth century is somewhat different from that of those of the preceding century. Religion is often openly avowed, but this in many cases takes the form of a Monism, the deepest element of which is a feeling of awe in view of the majesty and the uniformity of Nature. Though with lesser minds this tends to be but an open-mouth attitude, others experience a deeper mysticism. For some, who as Le Dantec fight for the view of absolute mechanism, even in biology, religion has no truth. It is, however, significant that at the beginning of the century one prominent scientist should feel that he has a "mission" to perform towards the reconciliation of the scientific conception of the world and the religious attitude to it—Oliver Lodge. His chief aim seems to be to popularise a general view of the world such as will be in accord with the best established results of modern science, and from this point of view to give an interpretation of Christianity in terms that will be of value for modern life. Lodge recognises, as did Russel Wallace, that the life of man is largely ethical and spiritual.

Man is not simply "natural" in the old sense of the term as opposed to spiritual: he has a life other than that of sense and of the present moment. In support of the view of personal survival after physical death, Lodge even resorts to examination of alleged spirit manifestations. His general position is to be seen best in his book *Man and the Universe*, but it is more concisely put in the now famous catechism, *The Substance of Faith allied with Science*, written for the use of parents and teachers.

Man is a being that has been evolved from lower forms of life. His distinctive features are his power to differentiate between good and evil, and his feeling of responsibility for his conduct. His purpose is to develop his higher self and to strive towards perfect freedom for all. Sin is the deliberate and wilful act of a free agent who sees the better and chooses the worse. Evil, however, is not something absolute. The earth is but one of many worlds of the universe, which contains an immanent Intelligence and Power vastly beyond our comprehension. This Power we believe to be good and loving. "It was specially manifested to dwellers on this planet in the life of Jesus Christ, through whose spirit and living influence the race of man may hope to attain heights at present inaccessible." "We should strive to learn from the great teachers, the prophets, poets, and saints of the human race, and should seek to know and to interpret their inspired writings." Our terrestrial existence is temporary, our real existence continues without ceasing. "The Kingdom of Heaven is the central feature of practical Christianity. . . . It is the ideal state of society towards which reformers are striving: it is the ideal of conscious existence towards which saints aim."

In *Man and the Universe*, Lodge has considered more closely traditional accounts given of Jesus and Christianity. The material, he insists, is a vehicle of manifestation of the divine, but there is a tendency to overlook the spirit and to make too much of the form in dogmatic theology. So, with regard to the birth stories, he would not say that virgin birth is impossible, but that "it is ethically useless." "Whatever the mysterious

phrase 'Son of God' means,—and it probably means something mighty and true,—it cannot mean that (*i.e.* the Virgin Birth). A belief in that is materialism rampant." In the same way, with regard to the belief in a physical resurrection of Jesus, and the fundamental importance so many theologians profess to see in it, he writes, "An attempt to link the whole Christian faith inextrically with an anatomical statement about flesh and bones is rash."

In discussing fundamental ideas, Lodge, like many professional theologians and religious teachers of our time, expresses himself in so vague a manner that the distinction between the old and the new ways of looking at religious truths is lost to all but those who are students. To the adherent of the older views it might seem that Lodge is a champion of the orthodox doctrine of the divinity of Jesus. The orthodox interpretation makes an absolute distinction between Jesus and other men, identifying Jesus with the supreme and final reality of all—God—and not so equating others. We have no ground for such an interpretation. Somewhat dramatically Lodge asks, "If man alone, what gain have we? The world is full of men. What the world wants is a god. Behold the God!" Yet, we ask again, is any man merely man in the sense here implied? It would hardly seem so, if the essence of Christianity—the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of man—is to remain. Lodge himself talks (italics ours) of "the Divinity of Jesus and *of all other noble and saintly souls*, in so far as they too have been inflamed by a spark of Deity, in so far as they too can be recognised as manifestations of the Divine." From the teaching of Jesus concerning the heavenly Father we may ask: "Have not all men to become sons of God?" But Lodge uses unjustifiable terms when he says that the "most essential element in Christianity is its conception of a human God."

The nature of the atonement that Jesus brings—a part of his influence all too often misunderstood—is referred to by Lodge in a way that suggests that here he has reached the heart of the religion of Jesus. "Christ showed how the sting might be taken

out of all suffering by meeting it with a spirit of undaunted faith. The power of sin lay in the presence of an evil and rebellious disposition. Rid of that—and though pains and sorrows should come as before, they could be faced in a spirit, not of submission only, but of undying love and hope, and almost joy."

"Science" has taken a different path in the work of Binet Sanglé, who, following Rasmussen and Soury, has taken in hand to give an account of Jesus as he views him from the study of psychology and pathology. Here, as perhaps nowhere else in the same degree, we have a man who seems to have lost all real balance of judgment owing to his occupation with a limited range of ideas. His book *La Folie de Jésus*, in three volumes, of which we have seen two that have already appeared, hardly merits the time taken to read it: we refer to it to give an example of what may be seriously published in the name of Science.

In some fifty pages are given the names of all the records where any mention of Jesus is made. Literary criticism is not attempted, but we are simply told at the end that the three synoptic gospels together with that of John are the best sources, especially Mark and Matthew. Binet Sanglé uses these four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the main without any discrimination of value: we hear no more of the imposing list of writings previously mentioned. He starts out evidently from the assumption that all religious natures are in some degree mad. Joseph and Mary, who went up to the Passover, must have been religious devotees, and in consequence Jesus and his brothers were tainted with madness through heredity. Jesus was taken to be baptized by John the Baptist in the hope that he would be cured. Once his mother and brothers came to take him home because they thought he was "beside himself." To abandon his mother and family as he did was a sign of religious mania. Only from a degenerate family could three brothers, Jesus, James, and Jude, become three chiefs of a religious sect. Blood and water would flow from piercing a man who suffered from pleurisy associated with tuberculosis, which is frequent among "degenerate mystics." Such men also sweat blood through fear and cold, and

die quickly if crucified: to give them something to drink may produce death through syncope.

Having in view the question of the authenticity of the records, Binet Sanglé contends that: either these accounts are tales or are true. If they are tales they are the fictions of highly skilled doctors who knew all about the systems of nervous disease and religious mania. This is improbable: at the time they were composed the science of psychology was not yet born. The accounts given are nevertheless so like the report on a religious maniac, that they must be simple and true records. With that, the question of historicity for Binet Sanglé is settled: it is now only a matter of working out the details.

The episode of leaving his father and mother is nothing but an example of perambulations frequent at the age of puberty. Later, the people said he was mad (Mark iii.). Jesus left no children; it is certain that he had no wife; it seems that he had no mistress. In fact, his whole family, so far as we know, died off quickly: sterility is common in families of degenerates. Probably this was brought about by chronic alcoholism on the part of Joseph, who lived in a good wine country. This man does not hesitate to say the worst: that Jesus was sexually perverted. He bases this assertion on a forced interpretation of passages like Matt. v. 27–30 or xviii. 9. Jesus lacked power to carry his cross; his death was not divine; it is beneath comparison with that of Socrates. A survey of the ideas of Jesus gives nothing new ethically, but only convinces one of the delusions and hallucinations that he was under.

The best refutation of this position is to give Binet Sanglé's own summing up. It should be noticed in it that, quite apart from the suppression of the greater part of the gospel record which shows Jesus as intellectually a normal man of his time, and religiously a genius and a saint, the interpretation of most of the positive data utilised by the writer is pure surmise and often pure assumption. The picture is simply a skilfully arranged illusion. "Born between the Mediterranean and the lake of Tiberias, deep in a mountainous province, wooded and little frequented, wild,

and in a good wine country, at a time when alcoholism flourished among the half-civilised Jewish population, in a village whose inhabitants were the laughing-stock of the people of the towns; the son of a pious carpenter and of a religious devotee; brother of an ascetic who was badly formed and despicable, and who, under his suggestion, became in his turn chief of the sect, and paid for his fanaticism with his life; the uncle of a leader of the sect, who had the same fate; the great uncle of uncultured men, whose simplicity and lack of power excited the pity of the Romans; having in his family seven mystics out of thirteen members; little in stature and weight; delicate of constitution; fasting for long periods; and dying prematurely on the cross from syncope through choking; a death hastened by a flow of blood, probably of the nature of tuberculosis and situated on the left; having ideas of eunuchism, of œdipism and of amputation; revealing ardent sexual desires if not sexual perversion; living *impuissant* and sterile; Jesus already appears to us as physically and mentally degenerate."

That any one could have so misinterpreted the facts, could have read so much into so little, is astonishing. It is something to know that this writer has not been taken seriously in his own country, and that no one has deemed it advisable to examine his work chapter by chapter: such a work is best left to refute itself. Readers must ask themselves what general impression they get of the person and character of Jesus from the gospel records; and how it contrasts with an account such as that of Binet Sanglé. They will feel forced to ask with reference to Binet Sanglé's book and Jesus what Bernard Shaw asked with reference to Max Nordau's *Degeneration* and those with whom it deals: "What in the name of conscience is the value of a theory which identifies Ibsen, Wagner, Tolstoi, Ruskin, and Victor Hugo with the refuse of our prisons and lunatic asylums?"

Even in the more careful works of pioneers in the study of the psychology of religion, such as James and Starbuck, there is a tendency to consider the religious experience as found in men whose attitude was abnormal or their confessions coloured by the

language of the religious bodies in which they had been brought up or to which they belonged. In the work of James, so often praised by people who are absolute laymen to the study, there is a distinct tone of materialism, especially in the final inferences. We come to research much more worthy of the subject in F. Granger's *The Soul of a Christian*; but even here the persons who are particularly referred to, *e.g.* Augustine and Bunyan, may be said to represent somewhat extreme cases of a similar type of mind under different ecclesiastical systems. Though in one sense they may represent the soul of a Christian, still as we understand that term the soul of a Christian *should be*, as far as its religious spirit is concerned, like the soul of Jesus. The mystics have given material for much psychological analysis, and many excellent works have appeared, of which we may note here, in contrast to the volumes of Binet Sanglé, the penetrating and illuminating work of Delacroix. It is, however, to Miss Evelyn Underhill that we owe the first careful study of the life of Jesus and of Early Christianity from this point of view. In her book *The Mystic Way*, she describes the course of the religious life of Jesus as that of a new and distinct type of mysticism. With much force she insists that the existing evidence must be re-examined in the light of psychological science, and she has herself undertaken the task and carried it through with remarkable clearness and care, and with an appreciation of much that is best in modern philosophy. The merit of her procedure is that it treats a religious genius as a religious genius, and not simply as a moral and religious teacher of exceptional grandeur. She would show the life of Jesus as an active mysticism which develops through the particulars of experience, and is fundamentally differentiated from the negative mysticism common to Hinduism, Neo-Platonism, and many individual mystics. Jesus is the initiator into the mystic way to union with God, and he is its perfect example. "The life of Jesus exhibits in absolute perfection—in a classic example ever to be aimed at, never to be passed—that psychological growth towards God, that movement and direction, which is found in varying degrees of perfection in the

lives of the great mystics." "The life of Christ, in fact, exhibits the Independent Spiritual Life being lived in perfection by the use of machinery which we all possess; in a way, then, in which we can live it, not in some miraculous unnatural way in which we cannot live it. His self-chosen title of Son of Man suggests that this, and not theological doctrine or ethical rule, forms the heart of His revelation."

Obviously as the writer has striven to guard against it, there exists in her treatment of the subject a tendency, skilfully covered, to overestimate the value of asceticism—even though she regards it as a means and not as an end. The distinction between the two types of mysticism is difficult to carry out consistently not only in practical life, but even in theoretical description. There must ever be a fundamental difference in the attitude of those who definitely follow a mystic way, and that of those who, obtaining power from religious experience, still feel and act under the conviction that the kingdom of God has to be worked for in and through the ordinary work and individual joys and sorrows of this life. Strong as is the desire of Miss Underhill to insist upon the active life in time, the atmosphere of the book, as we read it, is far from the concrete life and the simple, but none the less deep and real, religious experiences of Jesus. Her work is nevertheless pioneer work of the best kind from a truly religious mind, and it will do much to deepen our study of Jesus.

Contemporary Literature.

The conflict concerning the historicity of Jesus has had very little effect on the work of poets, dramatists, and novelists. They have gone their own way,—not unaffected by the movements of the age, but, on the contrary, as the true mirror of its life,—for nothing living is able entirely to resist the influences of the time in which it lives. But they have understood the personality of Jesus in a personal manner, and when their descriptions of him compared with what we know of him from history are "myths,"

yet they have created these "myths" from the experiences of their own lives.

There is one German poet in whose poetry Jesus has a unique and constantly recurring place—Richard Dehmel: but just because Dehmel reflects so truly all the movements of his time, the picture he draws of Jesus is not consistent. Perhaps the strongest side of his nature is the sensuous, and he has represented Jesus with such a trait in his character. Social needs also find expression in relation to Jesus in his poetry. Before Klinger's *Christus im Olymp* (1897), in which the old idea that the beautiful gods of Greece must die so that the soul might attain its highest life took new form, Dehmel had experienced something quite different: Ibsen's happy "third realm," in which Christianity and the culture of Greece, soul and body, exultant joy and spiritual greatness leading to sacrifice, are wedded. Here the poet, fantastically becoming one with the redeemer, sits on the throne of Zeus. True, Dehmel did not entertain this fancy long: the exultant perfection died in the fears that were aroused by a nature awful and attractive, but psychically mysterious.

Gerhart Hauptmann also has seen Jesus in many lights: first in the dream of the poor child who waits for the redeemer and hopes for the heavenly land with its golden streets; then in the dream of his own life as an artist. Though this dream has come to an end for Hauptmann, it led him to sketch a Jesus. He was quite other when he wrote the story *A Fool in Christ*: wonder at the greatness of Jesus mingled then with doubt as to his sanity. An idler, a burden upon his mother who bore him out of wedlock, the subject of this story follows step by step the course of the gospels until for us readers he becomes identified with the great example which he wishes to imitate. This whole account of the fool in Christ is not written by Hauptmann the poet, but as though by a lawyer, with the cold calculation, logical certainty, and well-meaning superiority felt by some men of academic education in face of what is remarkable. The book is indeed a wonderful one, rising, especially in the words of Quint, in many places to a height attained by few, but falling at other times to

the level of the absurd, owing to its grotesque contrasts. As a whole the work leaves behind the same feeling of uncertainty and strangeness that is aroused in its author in relation to his own life by the Jesus of the gospels. Though Individualism—in a way quite different from that of the earlier Liberalism—may feel the uniqueness and the power of the personality of Jesus, it is concerned and repulsed by the traits of submission and unselfishness in his character, his sacrifice and voluntary suffering, his lack of culture and his detachment from the world. We have here in Hauptmann's novel, and in such Individualism generally, a more refined statement of the question concerning the mental condition of Jesus, which Binet Sanglé and others have put so baldly and answered so coarsely.

It is strange that Hauptmann, a dramatist, should have written us a novel and not a play on this subject. Some dramatists, who have been attracted by the personality of Jesus, have not attempted to bring Jesus himself on the stage, but have adopted other means to present him.

Sudermann, as early as 1893, had placed Jesus in the background of his tragedy concerning John, and made us experience him as the saviour, who through love overcame the scorn and the righteousness of the Baptist. Paul Heyse and Maurice Maeterlinck have also taken the same way as Sudermann to reveal the power of his being: by showing its effects in the lives of other men.

In Heyse's *Maria von Magdala* (1899), Jesus is never seen or heard. But in the play he brings "tragedy" into two lives: that of the sinful woman, and that of her old lover Judas, in the latter a tragedy in the ancient sense—to ruin; in the former a tragedy in the Christian sense—to new birth, in the same way as Tolstoi's *Resurrection* arouses lively feelings of tragedy from the experience of conversion. And just the place which conflicts most with the old belief, the scene of the great temptation, in which the Magdalene can and would save Jesus from death by giving herself again to sin, but is raised above this by the purity of his being, is full of real and moving "tragedy" of this new kind.

The history of humanity has supplied little for the pen of Maeterlinck. He represents rather the cultured mysticism of the day, a mysticism under the influence primarily of Nature and solitude. However, in his play *Mary Magdalene*, to which he was inspired by Heyse's drama, he has a study of definite characters, and among others of Jesus. Though he does not come upon the stage we hear his voice, and we may obtain from the play as a whole a clear idea of the way in which Maeterlinck regards him, as a man whose power of personal influence was the greatest thing in him. The conversion of Mary is the chief event of the play, and this depends upon the essential feature of Maeterlinck's Jesus, his personal appeal, the charm and the strength of his character. Jesus is described in certain typical surroundings: "The leader is speaking in the midst of a crowd covered with dust and rags, among whom I observe a large number of rather repulsive cripples and sick. They seem extremely ignorant and exalted. They are poor and dirty, but I believe them to be harmless and incapable of stealing more than a cup of water or an ear of wheat." "But the Galilean, or the Nazarene as they call him here, is rather curious: and his voice is of a penetrating and peculiar sweetness." He heals the leper and the blind, and raises the dead. He pronounces the Beatitudes, and the Magdalene is drawn towards him "as though irresistibly by the divine voice." The mob that follow him catch sight of her and shout, "The Roman woman! . . . The adulteress! . . . Stone her!" Stepping forward amongst the rabble in the conflict that commences, Jesus subdues all by a voice which "rises calm, august, profound and irresistible, 'He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.'"

The officer charged with the capture of Jesus sees in his order nothing but the work of priestly factions, a "measure directed against sick men and vagrants." Mary herself asks, "What is he accused of? . . . He is innocent, I know; besides, one need but see him to understand. . . . He brings a happiness that was not known before; and all those who come near him are happy, it seems, like children at their awakening. . . . I myself, who only caught a glimpse of him amongst the olive trees, felt that glad-

ness rising in my soul like a sort of light that overtook my thoughts. . . . He fixed his eyes for but a moment on mine; and that will be enough for the rest of my life. . . . I knew that he recognised me without ever having seen me, and I knew that he wished to see me again. . . . He seemed to choose me gravely, absolutely, for ever. . . ." The keynote of the whole is sounded at the end of the second act, when the Magdalene follows Lazarus to go to Jesus, and Silanus remarks: "This is as surprising as the resurrection of a dead man." In fact it is more surprising, for "by awaking a dead man in the depth of his grave, he shows that he possesses a power greater than that of our masters, but not a greater wisdom. . . . If all the dead who people these valleys were to rise from their graves to bear witness, in his name, to a truth less high than that which I know, I would not believe them. Whether the dead sleep or wake I will not give them a thought unless they teach me to make a better use of my life. . . ."

The third act shows how little the spiritual purpose of Jesus has been grasped by his followers, who, benefited and impressed by the "miracles" of healing, wait simply for a show of power. The deeper insight of Cleophas, who reminds them that Jesus had said, "Live not in careful suspense," and that his kingdom is not of this world, only serves to heighten the effect of the general misunderstanding. The Magdalene would take up arms for him. She renders him the highest homage: "He is not only innocent, as you well know, he is so pure, he stands so high that the thoughts of men cannot reach him. . . . In his goodness he is bearing everything for the sins of the world; but we will not have him sacrifice himself for us. . . . A single glance from his eyes, a single word from his mouth, are worth all the lives of all other men." Maeterlinck speaks as one who has felt that there is something attractive and overcoming in the character of Jesus, for the effect he represents as produced in the Magdalene is deep and thorough. The personal touch, not a discussion of precepts, that is the real secret of Jesus. "Am I then the only being that has seen into his soul? . . . And yet it is not so very difficult! . . . He has spoken to me only three times in my life, but I know

what he thinks. I know what he wishes. I know all that he is, as completely as though I were within him, or as though he were there near me, fixing upon my brow his glance in which the angels come down from heaven, as on the evening when I kissed his feet and wiped them with my hair. . . ."

If these dramatists have refrained from bringing Jesus himself on the stage, they have nevertheless felt keenly that to let him speak requires a greatness of achievement and demands a courage that one can attempt in a novel better than in a play, where the imitation of life on the stage must show up every imperfection. Others have nevertheless attempted even this final step. Perhaps those attempts are to be regarded with most favour in which the words of the gospels are used as little as possible, and a Passion-play rather than a drama is formed from the narratives we have. This is what Nithack-Stahn has done in his *Christdrama* (1911), which is written from the point of view of historical theology, and gives in an attractive form a picture of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, based on his last days at Jerusalem.

Weiser in his four great dramas (1906) set before himself a higher aim, though he has not attained it. Much talent as a dramatist, and a real understanding of the art of staging, which, with all the splendour and the variety of the historical setting makes them interesting enough, cannot conceal from us the fact that just in the chief thing, the conversation of Jesus, the artist fails to reach the greatness of style found in the gospels, and through the introduction of modern ideas has often made the profound ideas of religious conversion appear ridiculous. In the main, the Jesus of these dramas of Weiser champions the old idea of a communism of love based upon Christian anarchism, modified slightly by Liberalism. They may be placed alongside of Wagner's *Jesus of Nazareth*. Free love takes a prominent place in these plays, not only in being placed as definite teaching in the mouth of Jesus, but also as that to which both Jesus and his father owed their birth. That Weiser has interwoven this old Jewish slander with religious mysticism, does not make the matter

any more acceptable. Nevertheless, the work taken as a whole shows that it was done with noble motives and with a great aim, even though the achievement often falls short of the desire.

We are left to surmise whether the chief character in Jerome K. Jerome's play, *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*, is meant to portray Jesus: there are many things to lead us to that supposition. The character is given no name; and, finally, to the servant he says, "I also am a servant"; and as he passes away the light shining through the fanlight above the door casts from his body and outstretched arms the shadow of a cross on the floor. But more than all it was the remarkable impression that was produced by the character as played by Forbes Robertson which led so many to the belief that none other but Jesus was meant. The whole setting is so simple, a sordid boarding-house in which there is nothing but slander, gossip, and distrust; distrust not only in everybody else, but generally also lack of faith in their own powers. And these conditions are absolutely changed by the short stay of a mysterious lodger who is so poor that he must occupy a room at the back of the house and on the third floor. Under his magic influence from which none can escape, often by a few simple words, he inspires faith and mutual trust, and as a result a deep joy and happiness in all the household. Whatever the intention of the author may have been, we for our part see here the understanding and presentation of a personal influence of the kind that Jesus imparts.

Christianity as the Religion of Sorrows, as we saw it represented by Carlyle, and Jesus as the Man of Sorrows, as he has been thought of in pietistic literature, could not but be discountenanced in an age when the pleasures of the senses and of culture are so prominent both socially and individually. The revolt was only to be expected. We have ourselves urged that the attitude of Christianity to Sorrow is not what these men have imagined. But the spirit of the age has turned against the distorted picture only to lose at the same time all the truth it contains. What is the true place of sorrow in our life? One writer, Coulson Kernahan, has given expression to the modern

endeavour to shut out sorrow. He has striven at the same time to suggest the power of true sorrow in the deepening and strengthening of character. His little book, *The Man of No Sorrows*, sold with a wrapper bearing a picture of a crowned and robed figure with features like the traditional pictures of Jesus, tells of a dream.

The Man of No Sorrows comes one day to a crowd anxiously waiting in Hyde Park. Resembling Jesus in physical appearance, he yet wears gorgeous apparel and proclaims himself to be the true Messiah and Saviour of the world. For two thousand years, he says, mankind has spoken of God as suffering, as sorrowing over humanity. He has come to make an end of sorrow and regret. Of Jesus this New Messiah has much to say. "At the turning-point of the world's history, when Israel was looking for its Messiah and mankind for their Saviour, came One to whom was entrusted power like unto mine. Against that One, who in the awful and transparent purity of His spirit, the passionate love of humanity that consumed him, the supreme self-sacrifice and surrender of self, and the spotless sinlessness and beauty of His life and death, stands alone in the history of the world, and has set an ideal and an example that are scarcely attainable by one not more than man—against him, God forbid that I should entertain or breathe an unloving thought. His is to me a name that is linked with all that is sacred."

One lesson from the life of Jesus he bids his hearers forget —its sorrow. In that, Jesus "misled and wronged humanity." Lonely as a boy; lonelier as a man; he was wifeless and childless; he denied himself even to his mother: "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" "He brooded so long over the sin and sadness of the world, over His own tragic destiny, His coming betrayal and death, and man's doom, that sorrow seemed to him the Truth of Truths, the Alpha and the Omega of human life, the beginning, the outcome, and the end of all." So "the burden of the Cross I lift for ever from your shoulders; the shadow of the Cross I banish for ever from your sight." Even here, however, one thing remains, "If from this hour Thee (Jesus)

we cease to worship, Thee, at least, we can never cease to love."

All turn to gladness and joy. But soon this takes the form of pleasure, which becomes more and more coarse and selfish. Sickness and disease do not disappear, so the sick and diseased are put out of the sight of the others. Gradually a fine trait in human features seems to be lost. "A soul-leprosy more horrible than the leprosy of the body was already doing its obscene and deadly work." The dwellers of Jerusalem "had sunk to the level of those who of old had peopled Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain." The Man of No Sorrows is in despair: "For I who promised to bring life and love and happiness to my fellows have brought upon them only death and hate and doom." In this sorrow and anguish the Man of Sorrows comes to him and comforts him. "Save only a few, Christians, while continuing to bear My name, had long ceased to bear My Cross." Jesus then distinguishes between two kinds of sorrow whose effects are different: "In sorrow of man's own making there may indeed be bitterness, sickness, and death. But sorrow of God's sending is the loving handtouch of the Great Physician upon a wound that He must probe to heal, or upon some spiritual sickness, ailment, or soul-fester of which, haply, even the sufferer is unaware." Finally, Jesus tells that his cross shall be newly lifted up and shall "eternally triumph over all, for now not only the Religion of Sorrow but the Religion of Love, which cometh out of that Sorrow, shall rule men's hearts and conquer the world."

Kalthoff and the Social Democrats in Germany.

Even without Kalthoff the time would have come when the "scientific" Socialism which follows Marx would have applied the master's teaching to Christianity. This teaching centres in an economic theory of history, according to which the whole psychical life of humanity is nothing more than a reflex of its economic condition, and religion nothing more than that yearning for redemption from the oppression of such economic

conditions which leads to the heavenly dreams of wonderful Utopias.

That there is some truth in this interpretation of human history cannot be denied. Soul and body, economic development and the history of the spiritual culture of man, are inwardly bound up with one another, and from a treatment of Christianity which takes into account the fact that in the early Christian societies there were "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble," many things can be learnt. Kalthoff, with his passionate temperament, raised the theory above the usual one-sidedness of the followers of Marx. He foresaw a time in which a new theology, his "Social theology," should change our conception of the history of religion in which great personalities, prophets, and founders of religions are represented as having played the chief part, to that of a history of the instincts of the masses from which the great personality will disappear altogether.

So for Kalthoff, Jesus is a figure similar to that of "poor Conrad" at the time of the Reformation, a product of the imagination. The masses at Rome and at Jerusalem created it as the representation of their social redeemer. In the same way that Bruno Bauer had once seen in Jesus the ideal emperor of democracy, so now Kalthoff sees in him the ideal social saviour of popular faith. The method by which he arrives at this position is that of allegorising the figures of the gospels, and he thinks he has a right to do this because the gospels are nothing more than Apocalypses, books like the Revelation of John, in which the history of the time is told in fantastic imagery. But such imaginative elements are *not to be found* in the gospels: the characters that come before us in them are real men of history. They contain nothing like the account of "a dragon with seven heads and ten horns," and a rider on "a white horse" with a two-edged sword "which came forth out of his mouth," and all the other strange things to be found in the Revelation of John. In the second place, Kalthoff's theory is wrecked on the fact, shown in detail in our Chapter IV., that the gospels reveal no social

programme, with the exception of the few communistic and proletarian passages in Luke. In particular, the way that Jesus, without a word of deprecation, continually makes use as an illustration in his parables of the customary "unsocial" and even horrible treatment of slaves, is a clear sign that this is not the voice of a party that speaks from the wars of the slaves.

On these grounds Kautsky, whose book, published first in 1908, we have already mentioned, is careful not to deny the historicity of Jesus. Nevertheless he falls into the same mistake in regard to history, when he takes early Christianity as essentially a movement of the masses, who through doubt of obtaining happiness on earth hoped for a kingdom of God in another world of the future. If Christianity had arisen as such a movement, then the declarations of the books of the New Testament concerning the circumstances from which men wished to be redeemed, or felt they were redeemed, should be quite different: they should have a far greater resemblance to what the democratic masses of our own day say. Not sin and death, but poverty and want, disease and slavery, should be in the foreground.

Maurenbrecher in his *From Nazareth to Golgotha* (1911) has only a little more exact knowledge from his theological past, but he has really added nothing to what Kalthoff and Kautsky have said. He is not less one-sided than Kalthoff, in fact his work is rather more pointed and hostile, and in consequence his conception comes no nearer the truth. With a show of power the gospel of Jesus is placed under the title "The Instincts of the Masses": "the instincts of the masses in the general attitude of Jesus to morality," "the instincts of the masses in his opposition to the Pharisees," "the motives of the masses in his criticism of traditional religion" (the commandments concerning food, the Sabbath, and marriage), "the general meaning of the instincts of the masses for Jesus," "union of the faith of Jesus with the instincts of the masses." It is only necessary to read these titles to understand the cold fanaticism with which everything is distorted in this book. This fanaticism often leads Maurenbrecher

to grotesque misunderstanding of the sayings of Jesus. And not only of the sayings of Jesus. The sentence of Paul, that Jesus who was previously in the form of God in becoming man took upon himself the form of a servant, does not mean what men in all these centuries have supposed, but that Jesus was really a slave! The most striking fact, however, is that along with this "proletarian" account of the gospel only one chapter is given to the consideration of Jesus himself, and that has the title "The Collapse of Jesus!"

It is somewhat painful to note this change in a man who once started out with great hopes to inspire Social Democracy with the power of the ideas of the gospel and the picture of Jesus. His latest book, *Suffering*, shows that he can now look upon his former religion only with contempt and injustice. What he offers in its place is that modern mixture that Ellen Key has compounded, and that Lily Braun and Kalthoff have recommended: Socialism and the gospel of Friedrich Nietzsche taken together are to redeem the world, which has risen above the proletariat Jesus, his hostility to the world and his hope of reward.

"Jesus or Christ?"

It has not been the purpose of this book to discuss doctrinal problems as such, but to present the result of a historical study of Jesus, and in its light to survey the various movements of the century in their relation to him. In our Introduction we referred to a trend of thought during the century towards universalism, and to the insistence on Divine Immanence. During recent years the two tendencies—the humanistic or personalistic, and the absolutist—have in the region of theology come to be definitely conceived and popularly discussed. No careful thinker will deny a truth to either side. The advocate of personalism feels it as fundamental that we are in relation to others—persons, greater and less than ourselves—in a community of life which is not to be described in merely theoretical terms, but simply experienced as an ultimate fact. The nature of personal life has been much

more carefully studied now that psychology has established itself as a specific region of research.

Under the pressure of these and other forces, English theology is at last being brought nearer to a definite consideration of the personal and historical, the universal and mystical, in its presentation of Christianity. We say "nearer," because there is even yet no tendency to make the historical Jesus central in theology sufficiently strong to be called a movement. One step was made, however, when Roberts, in an article in the *Hibbert Journal*, challenged theologians and religious teachers to consistency, with regard to whether they made the historic Jesus or the theological idealised Christ the basis of their faith. The question was discussed by various writers in a volume entitled *Jesus or Christ?* in which there was a preponderance of English opinion, and thus a more or less general acceptance in some form or other of Jesus and Christ, or better, Jesus Christ, rather than merely one side of the alternative. A few writers, chiefly continental, accepted one side of the alternative—Jesus. It must be confessed that while the problem as so stated is likely to attract attention, it suggests a distinction which in actual religious life rarely exists. Here, as so often, we are in a region of conceptual abstractions. The problem is more clearly stated and more adequately discussed by Dr. Sanday in his book *Christology and Personality*; and as he is perhaps the most representative of careful "orthodox" New Testament theologians in England, his work forms a suitable object of reference. In the light of modern psychological research, Dr. Sanday has also put forward a "tentative Christology" which he thinks might mediate between the two positions.

The attitude which accepts Jesus as central in the religious life, as does this book, apart from the idealisations of a later theology, is called by Dr. Sanday "reduced" Christianity, and the other attitude "full" Christianity. It is well to become quite clear as to the issue between the advocates of a "reduced" and a "full" Christianity; it seems to be nowhere stated in Dr. Sanday's volume. How the doctrine of the Church arose—due to misunderstanding unavoidable in the mental conditions of the

time—is a matter of history, and has been hinted at above. Here we are not concerned with origin, but with validity. For "reduced" Christianity, Jesus is not metaphysically different from other men, except as every individual is, as an individual, different from every other. He is unique in his moral and religious life and teaching, and in the influence he has had and has on men in these matters. This uniqueness is also possibly more one of degree than of kind. The great difference between the positions —and this is of the utmost importance—is that for "reduced" Christianity all that Jesus was (and is) all men may become. If we are called to become "sons of God," it is in the same sense exactly as for Jesus himself. For advocates of a "full" Christianity that seems impossible, because Jesus is metaphysically unique in that he is "very God of very God." The records we have of Jesus not only do not justify us in attributing to him such Deity; but they also manifest the evolution of thought and doctrinal statement that has led to this theological position; an evolution to be explained by forces other than those emanating from Jesus. We have to acknowledge the basal truth that if we "know" God at all, it is in personal experience. Jesus *helps* us in our knowledge of God, by our coming to realise the truth of his faith in Him, when we live a life inspired by the same motives.

If it be asserted that even in the case of "full" Christianity men may become what Jesus is: the distinction between the positions either falls, or we find ourselves in a pantheism in which each might call himself God.

Dr. Sanday has suggested, that in the conception of the "subliminal" or "subconscious self" of modern psychology, we may find a means of describing the divine and the human in Jesus. Beyond the conscious self, the ordinary field of consciousness, there is a part of a man's psychical nature that is in definite relation to his conscious self. "The conscious self is but a small portion of the true self." The full "true self" of Jesus is God; the "conscious self" in his earthly life was human: that seems, in brief, to be the position of Dr. Sanday in its application to the person of Jesus.

We are not concerned with the validity of the psychology here adopted, but with the argument as bearing upon a statement and defence of a uniqueness in Jesus of the kind desired by Dr. Sanday. Now, the nature of the "conscious self" and its relation to the "subconscious," as Dr. Sanday uses it in his *Christology*, is the statement of a result of the study of human consciousness: that is, it is a conception from the psychology of ordinary men. If the nature of the divine in Jesus is on a parallel with this, no metaphysical distinction from ordinary men is apparent to us. In so far as Jesus is (if at all) metaphysically distinct, it should be impossible to find a parallel within the region of (shall we say it?) merely human psychology. If it is admitted (as we should assert) that no one is "merely" human, but that by our relation to the ultimate in Reality, that is, to God, all are in some sense divine; and that therefore there is no "merely human" psychology, the distinction is again not brought to light by psychological analysis and analogy. Try as one will, this method gives no insight into an ultimate distinction between Jesus and other men, such that he could be called God. Dr. Sanday seems by his terms "reduced" and "full," and by what he says with reference to Dr. Schmiedel (p. 206), to suggest a narrowness in the philosophy implied by the school opposing him. Yet is it not, after all, a "fuller" rather than a "reduced" Christianity, to believe that we all possess a "divine humanity" in the same sense, though not yet at the same moral and religious height, as Jesus? It is the "whole creation" that travaileth: it is the whole creation that is to reveal God.

With regard to his consideration of the gospel records, Dr. Sanday seems to wish to have the matter both ways. He would regard Jesus as "fully and frankly human" (pp. 166, 179 ff.), and yet would have it that there are "incidental sayings" (p. 174) *coming in this human life*, which lead men to "proclaim Him God as well as man." Let us be clear that for us in so far as Jesus is "fully and frankly human" he may be the saviour for men; but in so far as he is (if at all) Deity (not simply divine),

he is separated from us. The objections of Proudhon should also be remembered. In the later portion of the book, treating of "Personality in Christ and in Ourselves," Dr. Sanday has felt the difficulty arising from the attribution of a divinity to men in general as well as to Jesus. "There are not two kinds of Divinity or Deity; there is but one kind. If, or in so far as, the Holy Spirit may be said to dwell in our hearts, it was the same Holy Spirit who dwelt in Christ. The difference is not in the essence [*i.e.* not a metaphysical difference.—A. G. W.], nor yet in the mode or sphere of the indwelling, but *in the relation of the indwelling to the Person.* And when I say the Person, I mean the whole Person,—each several organ and faculty,—but especially the central core of Personality, the inner, controlling, and commanding Person. There are Divine influences at work within ourselves; and those influences touch more lightly or less lightly upon the Person, but they do not *hold and possess it*, as the Deity within Him held and possessed the Person of the incarnate Christ." The difference is thus proclaimed to be a difference of relationship. Is it a "reduced" Christianity to hold that this difference is due to misunderstanding, and that the relation that Jesus had to God can be shared by all, and is meant by God to be shared by all? That relationship Jesus showed in a more perfect manner than we have otherwise known—the relationship of filial trust to a heavenly Father, a holy personal Will, and a harmony with that Will. We are called in our own moral and religious experience to the same relation, and in the life and teaching of Jesus we find our greatest help, not simply by the adoption of his teaching, but through a real personal attraction that we feel towards him. We fail to see what more than that Dr. Sanday or the Church can give us for our moral and religious life. In fact, we must go further and say with Prof. H. Jones (in the volume *Jesus or Christ?*): "The attempt to make the admission of a difference between Jesus and others decisive of the Christian faith," is fundamentally inimical to that faith.

The discussion of these traditional dogmas appears to us to

take men's minds from what is most real, and to lead to false views as to "salvation" and "redemption." Moreover, insistence on them in their traditional form prevents many honest and deeply religious men from taking their proper place as teachers in the religious organisations that have grown up during the centuries—the churches. Far better that these men should be accepted to teach their (so-called) "reduced" Christianity, than that they should be forced into a kind of antagonism outside of its ministry.

"The Gospel and the Church."

Alfred Loisy, the most distinguished of liberal Catholics, has raised the question of the relation of Jesus to the Church and of the Church to religious truth, in a way that cannot be passed over in a work such as ours. In his works on the fourth gospel and on the synoptics, he has made a careful and detailed study of the historical records of the person and mission of Jesus. He arrives at his results by scientific methods; but everywhere his exposition manifests the influence of the social character of Catholic religious life. If Harnack is representative of a liberal and cultured Protestant answer to our question, Loisy represents what a free and cultured Catholicism might be. The difference between them is of considerable importance. Ultimately it is a conflict for the recognition of the social aspect of religious life, and its development in history, as opposed to a tendency to excessive individualism and the failure sufficiently to appreciate the value of actual ecclesiastical evolution. To us the positions appear to be irreconcilable only when either is, or both are, exaggerated.

It is with reference to the Messiahship and to the meaning of the "kingdom" that we may best indicate the attitude of Loisy. The claim Jesus made to be the Messiah is fundamental. "Christ did not present himself as the founder of a new religion, nor even as the reformer of the traditional one: he came as the fulfilment of the great hope." Jesus believed himself to be the

Messiah: the kingdom that he thought of is not merely "within," but is begun and is to be realised in the Church. The saying, "Behold the kingdom of God is within you," is of doubtful authenticity: in any case it is not sufficient authority for regarding the kingdom as nothing more than an inner experience.

"The idea of the celestial kingdom is fundamentally but a great hope, and it is in this hope or nowhere that the historian should set the essence of the gospel, as no other idea holds so prominent and so large a place in the teaching of Jesus. The qualities of this hope are as easy to determine as its object. It is in the first place collective, the good of the kingdom being destined for all who love God, and of such a nature that all can enjoy it in common, and so well that their happiness cannot be compared to anything so fitly as to a great festival. It is objective, and consists not only in the holiness of the believer, not only in the love that unites him to God, but implies all the conditions of a happy life, physical and moral, external and internal, so that the coming of the kingdom can be spoken of as a fact that completes history and is in no way confounded with the conversion of those who are called to it. It regards and can only regard the future, as befits its nature of hope; and this future is not the fate of the individual in this world, but the renewal of the world, the restoration of humanity in eternal justice and happiness."

"The career and the teaching of Jesus are the mustard seed that grows into a tree, the morsel of leaven that leavens the whole mass. In appearance nothing seems more insignificant: a simple, enthusiastic village workman, who believes in the near approach of the end of the world, the inauguration of a reign of justice, and the advent of God on earth; who, further, in the strength of this conviction, attributes to himself the principal part in the organisation of the new city, begins to preach, urging his fellow-countrymen to repent of their sins, that they might be at peace with the great judge whose advent is imminent and will be unexpected like that of the robber; a man who gathers together a small band of illiterate adherents, being practically unable to

find others, and provokes an agitation, of little depth, in circles of the common people, which had to be suppressed immediately, as it was by the constitutional powers; a man who not being able to escape a violent death, submitted to it."

At his crucifixion his disciples fled (Mark xiv. 50). It is to be supposed that the soldiers took the body from the cross and threw it into a ditch into which the bodies of those were cast who had suffered the penalty of death. "Whatever may be the truth with regard to that, the conditions of the sepulchre were such that at the end of some days it would have been impossible to recognise the remains of the saviour, even if one sought him."

"His dream was fragile, as our knowledge is: it appears to us somewhat ridiculous, as our most cherished ideas will appear to men who will come after us. Nevertheless, it contains the most precious germs of human truth, the most vital principles of human progress, namely: that the golden age of humanity is not in the past but in its future; that the worth of a man lies in the sentiment that underlies his conduct; that true religion consists essentially in love, love of one's neighbour in God, or of God in one's neighbour; that one's neighbour is all the members of humanity; that God, that is to say, the vital law of the universe, is goodness; that self-denial on the part of each is necessary to the good of all; that one must know how to risk all material welfare and even physical life to gain all in the realm of the spiritual and the life of the soul; that sacrifice is the root of true happiness; finally, that our transitory existence is buoyed on an ocean of life, into which, at the moment when it seems to cease to be, it will return, to endure for ever."

The above quotations give the general result of Loisy's research in his own words. The special issues become clearer in the *The Gospel and the Church*, which is a criticism of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* The work and the genius of the greatest of mankind can only be seen at a distance: it was thus with regard to Jesus. What seems, to the "first glance" of criticism, to be simply legendary, is "nothing but an expansion of faith." The gospel is not an absolute doctrine, "but a living

faith" that evolves, influenced by its surroundings. The religious community is the kingdom, and in this Jesus assigns to himself a unique place. It is wrong to suppose a distinction "between the consciousness of Himself as the Son and as the Messiah." We are at a loss to know what "Sonship" and "Messiahship" here mean for Loisy as compared with the nature of men in general. In *Les Evangiles synoptiques* he certainly draws us a "purely" human Jesus. But in *The Gospel and the Church* he says: "All men who say to God 'Our Father,' are sons of God by the same right, and Jesus would be only one of them, if it were merely a question of knowing the Divine goodness, and trusting in it." Further, "He is the son *par excellence*, not because He has learnt to know the goodness of the Father, and thus revealed it; but because He alone is the vicar of God for the kingdom of heaven." It is just this phrase "the vicar of God for the kingdom of heaven" which is to us somewhat mysterious and in need of explanation. Until we know what it really means we may refrain from asking the authority for asserting it of Jesus "alone." Modern thought demands a modern expression for religious truth. The value of the past experience of the religious community cannot be denied, but we must not expect too much from the effort to read new meaning into the old formulas. The old formulas must sometimes be discarded, especially where, through the influences which at first determined them, they now lead to misunderstanding. Harnack would deny neither the importance of the religious life in the Church, nor its evolution. When he (as Loisy himself) studies the account of the historical Jesus and the origin of Christianity, it is not to reduce Christianity to its bare minimum, but to come to the essential fact of Jesus, in the light of which later developments have a meaning, and by their harmony with which their validity may be tested.

From a small book recently published under the title of *Choses Passées* we may see how far a relativistic theory of knowledge has led Loisy from the faith of Jesus. He confesses that he cannot derive any "spiritual advantage" from treating

God as a person. He identifies metaphysics so much with Scholasticism that he supposes that once we admit the validity of a metaphysical view of the personality of God we open the door for the establishment of the validity of Transubstantiation and all other ecclesiastical dogmas. That he should hold such a position is perhaps inevitable: it is the expression of the extreme nature of his reaction from "dogmatic" teaching. The ecclesiastical authorities have done their best to suppress the Modernist movement, of which Loisy was the most illustrious thinker. Within the Church they have succeeded to such an extent that Loisy himself, who, like Tyrrell, would remain from the point of view of religion within its borders, is able to say: "Roman Catholicism is destined to perish, and it will deserve no regrets." Nevertheless it remains an important contribution to religious advance that Loisy has insisted upon the historic development of religious life in a Church, and that he conceives this in relation to the historical Jesus.

The essential harmony of the Modernist movement with the thoughts and efforts of the best men for the last hundred years, could not blind us to the fact, that from the outset it was almost futile to endeavour to promulgate such an attitude, while retaining the old symbols, "apocryphal imagery" as Tyrrell called them, and the traditional external authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The twentieth century calls for the abandonment of those theological expressions which, owing to continued misunderstanding, have forced into the foreground the merely temporal and material at the cost of the truly spiritual. The external and naturalistic manner in which the doctrines of the Church have come to be regarded, leaves us with practically no other way open than to break free from them, and to centre our attention upon the religious experience of the present and the past (as far as possible) in relation to Jesus, and to formulate for ourselves, so far as necessary, new expressions. As with the Catholic Modernists, and in history before, so in our own religious organisations, it is formalism and spiritual inertia, allied with what may be called "vested interests" on the part of the reigning

officials, that prevent satisfactory progress in giving new statements to religious truths.

There still remains the question of the Church and its relation to Jesus. For Jesus the ideal was a kingdom, a family, in which God as Father and men as brothers exist in a relationship of love. For him that was not simply a conception to be believed in, but a life to be lived. By living on this principle he attracted by his personal influence and power his first disciples, and in contact with him they could grow more like him. These disciples also, in contact both before and after his death, would have an influence one on another, as well as on men not yet of their circle. If Jesus had come to inculcate a philosophy he might have had other methods, but what he did was to reveal religion, and religion only lives and grows in personal contact. The Christian Church, originating in the personal relationship of the first disciples to Jesus, though ultimately to become a kingdom of saints, is now essentially a school for sinners who would become saints. This personal social expression in a Church is essential to religion for which Jesus is central: it is the outcome of its very spirit; it is involved in its very nature. To admit and to insist on this truth does not commit us to accepting as equally vital the steps of organisation which such a body of sinners may have taken in the past. Even if, as there seems little reason to believe, Jesus did in any way determine the organisation and ceremonial of a Church, to take such external forms as anything more than means to the attainment of his spiritual aims, is in contradiction to the impression given by his whole life and teaching. The different orders of ministry in the Church evolved, as history shows, under the pressure of definite external conditions. To contend that a special divine grace is passed on within the branches (?) of a Catholic (?) Church under the external sign of a laying on of hands (in ordination and in confirmation), is not only to suggest a limit to the sphere and action of the spiritual, but to lapse into a veritable materialism. As perhaps never before in the history of Christianity, men are in our day impelled by the religious experience itself and an intelligent conception of

its nature, to strive for religious unity. What is required for this is not the abandonment of any form of ecclesiastical organisation, but of the views which represent it as something essentially more than a practical necessity. Towards the attainment of this end a true conception of the historical Jesus will help us. It will show us that for him the spiritual is supreme and the material has its value in relation to a life lived in faith in God. Finally, we shall come to recognise that the same forces that led to the deification of Jesus have led also to the sacerdotal view of the ministry in the Church.

Arthur Drews and his Forerunners in the Theory of "The Christ Myth."

Before Drews stated the conclusion which he supposed to be the logical consequence of the researches in the history of religion, W. B. Smith, a professor of mathematics, and J. M. Robertson, at that time a journalist, arrived at the same result by different though allied paths. Smith started out, as indeed became known only later, from the fundamental principles of Theosophy, and held a position for which a gnostic, profuse, and speculative account of the parable of the Sower appeared older than the concise and striking story of the gospels. Robertson's books, *Christianity and Mythology*, and *Pagan Christs*, are of the nature of the works of a dilettante in "research in mythology." In England itself they have aroused little discussion or interest of an enduring character, and they became known in Germany in a collection of extracts published under the title *Die Evangelienmythen* ("The Gospel Myths"). Smith's book was called *The Pre-Christian Jesus*, and it championed the thesis that the name Jesus, as also Nazarene, had been the name of a pre-Christian cult-god in the faith of a Jewish gnostic sect; and that traces of this can still be proved in the books of the New Testament and other early Christian literature. The book was published in Germany as long ago as 1896, when it was accompanied by a preface by P. W. Schmiedel, recommending it to theologians for refutation. This invitation

was not taken up because it did not seem necessary so to refute the caprices of opinion of a dilettante. Used by Arthur Drews, and published as though pure science recommended by Schmiedel, this book played a part in the conflict concerning the Christ-myth.

In the meanwhile in Germany there came forward a scholar of repute, the Marburg Assyriologist Jensen, who thinks that it is possible to prove that the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh has been a much used source in the literature of the world, and was the chief source of the gospel narratives. There can be no doubt that this epic has influenced the Old Testament and the Homeric poems. That was recognised long ago. The work includes the story of a flood, which has affinity with that in the Bible, and a narrative of a visit of Gilgamesh to the underworld, which resounds in Homer's similar story in the *Odyssey*. But Jensen's exaggerations are simply monstrous. He supposes it possible to derive from this epic almost the whole of the Old Testament, even the most insignificant narratives to which no parallels can be found. The life of Jesus is nothing but "a variant" of the Babylonian epic! Astonished, one asks whether there is anything in the account of Jesus that corresponds to the story of the flood, or to a visit to the underworld? Jensen has his means of showing that it is so. We quote half a page of his "Parallels"—

In the epic it is recorded:	*In the gospels it is recorded:*
A storm arises and subsides.	A storm arises and subsides.
Xisuthros lands with his family far from his dwelling-place.	Jesus lands in Perea, beyond his home.
Sinful humanity and most animals, and among these swine, are drowned in the flood.	Two thousand or more demons and two thousand swine are drowned in the lake over which Jesus voyaged.
Xisuthros with three closely related persons ascends on a seventh day the summit of the mount of the flood, and is deified.	After six (sometimes about eight, then certainly originally about a week of seven) days, Jesus climbs with three most closely related persons a high mountain and is transfigured, and declared to be the Son of God.
Voice of the invisible Xisuthros out of the air to his companions upon the mountain of the flood, that they should be pious.	Voice from a cloud on the mountain of transfiguration that they should hear Jesus.

One can hardly believe one's eyes; but it is indeed by such parallels that Jensen feels justified in declaring as the result of his research: "In our cathedrals and houses of prayer, in our churches and our schools, in palace and cottage, we serve a Babylonian god, Babylonian gods!" One could believe that the passage we have quoted is taken from a cheap mockery of the method of the study of comparative religion.

Arthur Drews, when he wrote his book *The Christ Myth*, added little to the "discoveries" in the works mentioned. For the first part of his book he adopted Smith's title, "The Pre-Christian Jesus." He tried to go beyond Smith by bringing the proof that suffering in the general idea of the Messiah, as all the details in the story of the suffering "of Jesus," had been already elements in the pre-Christian belief in "Jesus"; and he said the same thing of "his" descent from a carpenter named Joseph. In the second part, which treats of the Christian Jesus, the thesis is put forward that the Christian records still show that in Christian history a god has gradually been represented as a man. Paul knew no human Jesus; at most he knew only the belief that "Jesus" had been a man; the first gospels give an account of such a man, but they are so full of contradictions and are so indefinite, a mere muster of contemporary opinions and nothing more, that the assertion that modern theology makes concerning his unique and eternally valid greatness must be regarded as simply sentimental phraseology. The third part is entitled "The Religious Problems of the Present Time," and in it the author finally comes to his own attitude towards religion, to his life's work, and to the deepest grounds of his conflict against the historicity of Jesus. He believes that theology which makes appeal to a historical Jesus is on a wrong track, and he wishes to help men in their religious needs in another way. If formerly he has contended that theology is limited and handicapped by its point of view, so now he himself becomes the champion of a living interest in religion: he also is a "theologian." As Strauss, Hegel, and von Hartmann, his teachers, he can only think of personality as an imperfect expression of the "Idea." That the principle of

redemption, which is the fundamental principle of the gospel "history," has been conceived as personal, is the root of all the inconsistences and the imperfections in the religion. In opposition to this conception he hopes to trace back the Christian doctrine of redemption to its true source. He tries, therefore, to place in the centre of the religious view of the world *the idea of a divine humanity*, which in his opinion underlies the doctrine of redemption; and he would do this by taking from the Logos its mythical personality.

"The life of the world as the life of God; the evolution of humanity full of conflict and suffering as the history of the conflict and suffering of God; the process of the world as the process of a god who in every individual creature struggles, suffers, conquers, and dies, in order in the religious consciousness of men to transcend the limitations of the finite and to anticipate his future triumph over the whole suffering of the world: that is the truth in the Christian doctrine of redemption." And Drews is convinced that this religion will redeem the world.

That this conception of divine humanity has nothing to do with the gospel of Jesus needs no demonstration. In the form in which Drews presents the idea it is simply a speculation of the Hegelian philosophy, combined with emotional elements which come from Schopenhauer and pessimism. Even Christian dogma, from which the language has been taken to describe the position, means something quite different from what these philosophers wish to say with its formulas. A man who has read Drews' book may confidently take up the gospels once more: it will soon become clear to him that in the Sermon on the Mount and in the parables, in the stories of the prodigal son and of the woman who was a sinner, not only is a different world revealed from that implied in these sentences concerning a suffering god who, in men, redeems himself from suffering, but that Jesus also manifests a nature in everything more healthy and powerful, more spiritual and attractive than this modern Buddhism, which is once more placed before us as Christianity. Men of our time have need, not of this enervating pessimism, but of the power and earnestness of

the Sermon on the Mount, the security and the power of a God, who far from needing to be redeemed by men, Himself redeems them.

In this book it is not possible, and it is hardly necessary, to enter upon a discussion of the details in the arguments that Smith and Drews have urged in support of their theses. The excitement that was caused by their works abated as quickly as it arose. A flood of publications appeared: from the side of theology mostly concise pamphlets in which the new contentions were denied. A large number of writers came to the support of Drews, some of whom were laymen to the matter. The loudest voice was that of the Monistic minister Steudel in Bremen: the Jewish author, Samuel Lublinski, had most to say, though he would regard everything essential as pure fancy. Drews and Smith could not simply bring out new editions of their books, but had to complete them by further volumes: in 1911, Smith wrote his *Ecce Deus*, and Drews the second volume of *The Christ Myth*. Then came a host of people who always make their appearance in such conflicts, and the oldest fraudulent stories were brought forward again both for and against Jesus. Much attention was attracted by Ernst, Edler von der Planitz, who produced an "authentic" writing from an Egyptian monastery, supposed to be by a friend of Jesus' youth. Then came the work of a Russian astronomer who found an entire mythology in the history of Jesus, and finally contended that the New Testament had arisen only in the fourth century after Christ. Arthur Drews had the courage at that time to write that now the most certain of all sciences had spoken—astronomy, implying that our theological views must agree with that even though all other evidence was against it. But enough. During this time of excitement and conflict, little if anything was produced that could prove of real value for progress. If we may at all speak of a result, it lies rather in this, that the question of the significance of the personality of Jesus for the religious life of our day has become more living: as we shall show later. Here all that we need to do is to give our reasons against the assumption that

in Christianity a divine Reality became incarnate and was the founder of the religion. This assumption absolutely contradicts the evolution of the early Christian conception of Jesus as revealed in our records. A purely literary comparison of the gospels shows that Mark is the basis of Matthew and Luke, and that these three underlie John. And this series of gospels makes evident an increasing deification of Jesus. Miracles are conceived on a larger scale: the human is relegated more and more to the background. We give but a few from the many examples of this: according to Mark, Jesus healed one leper; according to Luke, ten more as well. According to Mark, the fig-tree that was cursed was found withered by the disciples on another day; according to Matthew, it withered immediately. Mark reports only one case of Jesus awaking a dead person, Jairus' daughter, just as she had fallen "asleep"; Luke records in addition the raising of a widow's son who was being carried out to be buried; while John no longer records such simple stories, but only the raising of Lazarus, who had already been four days in the grave; and he would make the matter quite definite by the statement "by this time he stinketh." According to Mark, Jesus says to the man who had addressed him "Good Master!" "Why callest thou me good; none is good save one, God"; while after Matthew he says: "Why askest thou me concerning that which is good?" In the three synoptic gospels, Jesus is reported as having wrestled with the idea of death in Gethsemane; Luke says that God sent an angel to help him; but John "corrects" his predecessors, since he places in the same hour of Jesus' life his royal prayer for his disciples, which proceeds from the certainty that Jesus was with the Father in heaven before the world was, and in that he represents him as saying: "The cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" (John xviii. 11); and on another occasion: "And what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour. But for this cause came I unto this hour." Many other examples might be given in which the earlier tradition contained less imposing miracles, human self-consciousness, human struggles, and human conversation, where later we find ever greater miracles,

divine certainty, and superhuman glory. This fundamental law of evolution in early Christianity overrides every attempt to deny individual historical reports concerning Jesus.

After the Conflicts.

When we bear in mind the great difficulty of the problems involved, and, further, the natural slowness with which men change their attitude towards matters of ethics and religion, it is not surprising that with regard to all the conflicts around the questions of Jesus or Christ?, the Gospel and the Church, and the Historicity of Jesus, the positions which prevail at the present time are little different from those held before the discussions. We may expect some permanent results only when, after years of careful work, men have come to see these problems in their true perspective in relation to the religious life. It is our conviction that the ultimate problems that are raised by these conflicts are intimately connected, and that they all involve the question of the relation of the historical to the religious experience of men.

Though discussions such as those we have experienced in recent years are of great value in that they bring into prominence what appear to be main issues, and draw us for a moment from too exclusive an attention to technical problems of detail, it must nevertheless be admitted that, as a rule, more comes from the quiet and steady work which is being done when there is no sound of conflict and no sign of an excessive heat of emotional prejudice. Thus we may expect that much has been done, and that much more will be done, by such works as Dr. Burkitt's *The Gospel History and its Transmission* (1906), towards leading English theologians to the manifestation of a clearer appreciation of the chief problems and a more scientific treatment of them. The lack of finality on many of the questions that seem to us vital, a feature of the volume that to some may be disappointing, is perhaps in the circumstances of the case one of its best claims to consideration. We would place great importance upon Dr. Burkitt's arguments, that there is a historical motive in the

gospel of John; that details furnished by the gospel of Mark "explain the silence of profane historians"; that Jesus confined himself for a time "to the more thorough instruction of His own followers"; and that the gospels of Matthew and Luke contain elements which are due especially to the time and the motives which produced them. All of these contentions have important bearings on the questions of the historicity of Jesus, of his true nature and the development of Christology, and further, as to his relation to the Church. For Englishmen who take an intelligent interest in matters religious, this last problem has recently arisen in a practical manner with reference to the foreign mission-field. There is reason to be thankful not only that the question was aroused by an effort to follow the spirit of Jesus rather than a formal practice which has become common in some branches of the Church, but also that sympathy and support for the more comprehensive attitude came from so many directions. We pass, in conclusion, to a final reference to the discussion concerning the historicity of Jesus.

As early as 1903, Arthur Bonus wrote concerning Kalthoff: "The sensational case against the historical Jesus has something repulsive, because petty, about it. It is simply an advertisement for other ideas that it is desired to advocate: and this advertisement affects, hides, and darkens the real intention, which is, to make room for the true religious life, that suffers in its innermost nature when its fundamental principle is made to depend on a fact of the past." He would say that still more strongly concerning Drews and the latest sensation, and at the same time he would be expressing a feeling which in the course of the last ten years has increased in strength, and even penetrated far into the theological circle which had previously placed the historical Jesus in the foreground. Arthur Bonus, who was originally within this circle, and is at present trying to create a "new myth," has already preached a German Christ, and written concerning him most impressively and with a spirit of youth in his *German Belief*, 1897. Karl Jatho—who, apart from the denial of the historicity of Jesus, stands nearest to Kalthoff—arrived at his

pantheistic, unhistorical religion of immediate experience not from modern historical theology, but from an orthodox mysticism. Traub and Bousset, who at the present time occupy a position something like that of Naumann, were once closely related to those who proclaim the historical Jesus.

The tendencies that influenced Kalthoff and Drews were very varied, and when their work was done the same tendencies supported it. With Drews and Bousset, who has now gone back more especially to the position of Fries, the rational element predominates. They wish to raise religion out of the sphere of merely personal experience into the realm of universal truth, and in this manner secure it from attack. With Jatho and Kalthoff, and a group of writers whose works are published by Eugen Diederichs, mysticism, or the desire for mysticism, is predominant. They would experience religion beyond the sphere of the moral and the historical, in the inexpressible tones of feeling, in delight in the greatness of Nature, and in the fulness of the Oversoul. Finally, in all of them, but especially in Bonus, we find the flood waves of Individualism, which has become imbued with the idea that every dependence of man upon history involves a burden to his own spiritual life. Individualism of this kind is growing. It has become united, not only with the idea of the race, as with Bonus, but also, in Dehmel, Kalthoff, Maurenbrecher, and many others, with Socialism, however deadly the enmity between it and Individualism was at the beginning. All of these forces now work together to remove Jesus from the central place that he occupies in our religious life; and even to put him absolutely on one side.

We, however, after these conflicts, as before, hold fast to him. We have never, as our opponents and those who have left us suppose, preached him as the embodiment of an external law that oppresses the soul, but as a great and especially powerful factor of living Reality, of which for us history also forms a part. We have said to men that just in this part of Reality they can hear the voice of God more distinctly than in the chaos or the compromises of their own souls, or in Nature, which, indeed, is often

awful and confusing in what it suggests. And though men like Bousset and Traub have half abandoned their earlier attitude, driven by the powerful currents of an age in which history is being denied a place in its hurried and "rationalistic" life, or disgusted with all its bustle led to the desire for moments of mystical detachment and seclusion, there are still others who have not become weary of preaching Jesus as a historical and a present reality.

Johannes Müller, around whom gather thousands even of those who resort to pantheism and modern mysticism as their salvation from Individualism, has begun during the last few years more definitely than ever to present Jesus in a "modern and germanised" dress. And though he often introduces too much from the tendencies of our day into his picture of the historical Jesus, too much pantheism and too much attention to the things of this world, and the "virtue of giving," instead of active love, nevertheless he preaches with animation and overwhelming vigour to the men of our day Jesus' humanity and his life with God.

In a small book published in 1912 the much opposed pastor of Nürnberg, Rittelmeyer, has given us a picture of Jesus which also embodies the results of the last conflict. Though its glowing language may seem to us too emotional now that we have already begun to pass from impressionism to a time of firmer and more definite lines, it nevertheless reveals the glow of a heart that has been affected. In the description of the personality of Jesus and in the consideration of his significance for the present time, Rittelmeyer says concisely and clearly why we do not see in this historical personality simply something of the past, an external law, or an oppression of our life, but a reality and power that can be experienced in the present,—a reality that has given to the history of the world vital powers such as no mere idea and no rationalistic principles could have given. Human life grows up only from human life. The spiritual life of men does not arise from ideas and proofs, but through "new birth" produced by the higher life of another man.

There is much religious longing and seeking, and not a little

religious life in our day. But yet in its anxiety it often passes over the historical. For history has oppressed us as a burden for centuries: since we might adhere to the creeds of the fathers, but not confess our own beliefs and doubts. Then men are fascinated by Nature, which in the light of all the deep penetrating knowledge of our day reveals again and again its sublimity and ever greater and greater mysteries. We have also to understand and work in times such as these. Yet it will not always be possible to cover up the fact that a value lies in the human soul for which Nature with all its power and beauty is no substitute: that what gives to the world its value and its final magnificence first comes to light in great human souls, and that all the mountains and stars do not outweigh the greatness of a majestic life which sacrifices itself for the forlorn and the downcast.

INDEX

The names of books are given here only when they are not mentioned in the text.

Anonymous. 203.
Arnold, E. 292–94.
Arnold, M., *Culture and Anarchy. Last Essays on Church and Religion*, 1877. 159–63.

Bahrdt, *Breife über die Bibel im Volkston*, Halle, 1782 f. *Ausführung des Planes Jesu*, Berlin, 1784–92. 45.
Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888. 103.
Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes*, 1840. *Kritik der Evangelien der Synoptiker*, 1841. 89–94. *Kritik der Evangelien*, 1850. 108, 254.
Baur, F. Chr., *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 1843, [2] 1860. 94, 104.
Bebel, A. 242.
Bergson. 360.
Bernoulli, C. A., *Christus in Heligenlei*, 1905. 357.
Beyschlag, W., *Das Leben Jesu*, 1885 f., [3] 1901. 97.
Binet Sanglé. 415–18.
Björnson, B. 326, 379.
Blatchford, R. 250 f., 302.
Bonus, A. 448.
Bousset, W., *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1903. 103. *What is Religion?* 1903. *Jesus*, 1906. *Die Bedeutung der Person Jesu für den Glauben.* 360, 449 f.
Browning, R. 304–08.
Buckle. 275 f.
Burkitt, F. C., *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, [2] 1907. 447 f.

Campbell, R. J. 367–69.
Carlyle, T., *Sartor Resartus. Miscellaneous Essays. Heroes and Hero Worship. Past and Present. Latter Day Pamphlets.* 41, 60, 62–67, 159, 425.
Carpenter, J. E. 364.
Carrière, M., *Religiose Reden und Betrachtungen*, [2] 1856. 171 f.
Chamberlain, H. St., *The Foundations of the XIXth Century.* 318, 375–76.

Channing, Complete Works. 180–83.
Classen, *Jesus Heute als unser Zeitgenosse*, 1904. 377.
Comte, A. 9, 185, 276.
"Contemporary, A." 243–46.

Darwin. 6, 8, 20.
Dearmer, P. 262.
Dehmel, R. 421.
Dickinson, Lowes, *Is Immortality Desirable?* 23.
Diederichs. 449.
Drews, A. 409, 442, 444–46, 450.

Eckermann. 57, 58.
Egidy. 203.
Eichhorn, *Das Abendmahl im neuen Testament*, 1903. 106.
Emerson, *Journals*. 41, 59–62.
Eucken. 360, 368, 373–74.

Faguet, E. 7 f.
Feuerbach. 166, 243 f., 300, 338 f.
Fitzgerald, E. 301–03.
France, Anatole. 14, 380 f.
Frenssen. 378–80.

Gardner, P., *Exploratio Evangelica*, 1899. *Historic View of the New Testament*, 1901. 364–67.
Goethe. 35, 41, 55–59, 62, 81, 109, 147, 333.
Goeze. 45, 48.
Granger, F. 418.
Gunkel. 105.
Guyau. 361.

Haeckel. 16, 408.
Harnack. 105, 256, 358–59, 365, 435, 437.
Hart, H., *Das Reich der Erfüllung*. Heft 2, 1901. 338.
Hartmann, E. v. 304, 386–88.
Hartmann, F. 295 f.
Hase, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1829. *Geschichte Jesu. Nach akademischen Vorlesungen*, 1876. *Erinnerungen aus Italien*, 1896. 97, 175, 213, 267.
Hauptmann, Gerhart. 420 f.
Hegel. 10, 16, 18, 51, 76, 88, 166, 339, 348, 371.
Herder. 53–55, 59.
Heyse, P. 303, 421.
Hermann, W., *The Communion of the Christian with God*, 1886, [4] 1906. 359.
Holland, Scott. 260 f.

Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 1901. *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, 1895. 97, 103.
Hubbe Schleider, *War Jesus Buddhist?* 295.
Hughes, T. 164–66.
Huxley. 9, 185, 301.

Ibsen. *Brand.* *The Doll's House.* 216, 277, 279, 281.

James, W., *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902. 60, 365, 417 f.
Jensen, *Das Gilgameschepos in der Weltliteratur*, 1906. *Moses, Jesus, Paulus, drei Varianten des babylonischen Gottmenschen Gilgamesch*, 1909. 442 f.
Jerome K. Jerome. 425.
Joshua Davidson. 238–41.
Jowett, B., *Life*, vol. ii. *College Sermons.* 98–99, 106, 147–49.

Kalthoff. 108–09, 242, 254, 385, 411, 427–31, 449.
Kant. 11, 51–53, 160, 337, 357, 376.
Kautsky. 242, 429.
Keim, *History of Jesus of Nazara*, 1867–72. 97, 173 f.
Kernahan, C. 427 f.
Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley, his Letters and Memories of his Life*, 1884. *Sermons on National Subjects.* *Parson Lot's Letters to the Chartists.* 185 f., 196, 222–25.
Kirchbach. 204–08.

Lamennais. 219–21.
Leblond, *L'Ideale du dixneuvième Siècle.* 15.
Le Dantec. 413.
Lessing, *Axiomata.* 43, 48–51, 396.
Liebknecht. 241.
Lodge, O. 413–15.
Loisy, A., *Les Evangiles Synoptiques.* 365, 435–40.
Losinsky. 242 f., 304.
Lotze, H. 18, 21, 61, 371–73.

Maeterlinck. 422–25.
Martineau. 190–02, 364.
Maurenbrecher. 429.
Maurice, F. D. 20, 221–22, 261.
Mazzini, *The Duties of Man*, 1844. *Faith and the Future*, 1835. 227–30.
Ménégoz, E. 362.
Metchnikoff, *The Nature of Man*, 1903. 23.
Meysenbug, *Memoiren einer Idealistin.* 290 f.
Mill, J. S. 160, 185, 193–96.
Morison, Cotter. 197–99.
Müller, *Das Ziel*, 1908. *Die Bergpredigt*, ² 1908. *Die Reden Jesu*, 1 Bd. Von der Menschwerdung, 1909. 2 Bd. Von der Nachfolge, 1912. 451.

Naumann. 257, 313–16.
Newman, F. W. 188–92.
Newman, J. H., *University Sermons*. 181–91, 369.
Nietzsche. 20, 33, 157, 192, 205, 216, 286, 301, 308–13, 324, 326, 327, 334, 336, 338, 342, 351, 353, 397.
Notowitsch. 296–97.
Novalis. 74.

Oldenberg, *Buddha, His Life and Teachings* (Eng. Trans.). 318–20.
Osler, W., *Science and Immortality*. 23.
Ostwald, W. 406.

Paine, T. 39–41.
Parker, T. 180, 183–86.
Passy, P. 265–66.
Paulus, H. E. G., *Das Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristentums*, 1905. 45–47, 79, 174.
Peabody, *Jesus and the Social Question*. 262.
Pfleiderer, O. 105.
Planitz, Ernst, Edler v. d., *Ein Jugendfreund Jesu*, 1911. 445.
Pringle-Pattison, A. S. 19.
Proudhon, *Jésus et les origines du Christianisme*, 1896. 246–49.

Rade. 253–56.
Rasmussen, *Jesus, eine vergl. psycho-patholog. Studie*, 1905. 388.
Reimarus, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten*. Bekannt gemacht von G. E. Lessing, 1788. 42–4, 79.
Renan, *Life of Jesus* (Quotations from Eng. trans. by Hutchinson). 76, 110, 149–59, 167, 176, 201, 210, 213, 246 f., 254, 266.
Réville, A., *Jésus de Nazareth*, 1898. 106–08, 200 f., 362.
Réville, J. 362 f.
Ritschl, A. 61, 357, 369.
Rittelmeyer, *Jesus*, 1912. 450.
Robertson, F. W., *Life and Letters. Sermons*. 192–93.
Robertson, J. M. 441.
Rosegger, P., *I. N. R. I. Frohe Botschaft eines armen Sünders*, 1904. 378 f.
Rousseau. 16, 29, 158, 286.
Ruskin, J. 7, 225–27.

Sabatier, A., *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion*. 365. *La nouvelle Vie de Jésus*. 107, 361.
Sabatier, P. 313, 360–61.
Sanday, W. 368, 431–36.
Schenkel. 170, 173.
Schiller. 36.

Schlegel, Fr. 72.
Schleiermacher. 18, 61, 72-75, 171, 337, 371.
Schmidt, P. W., *Geschichte Jesu*, i., 1899. *Volksausg.*, 1905. ii., 1904. 97.
Schnehen, F. v., *Der moderne Jesuskultus*, 1906. 386.
Schopenhauer, A. 18, 20, 61, 286-88, 308, 310, 320, 329.
Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, [3] 1898-1902. 103.
Schweitzer, A., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1906 (Eng. Trans. 1911, of *Vom Reimarus zu Wrede*). 103-04, 410.
Seeley, J. R. 176-79.
Seydel, R., *Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zur Buddhasage und Buddhalehre*, 1884. *Die Buddhalegende und das Leben Jesu*, 1884. 316-18.
Shelley, *Queen Mab. Essay on Christianity.* 67-71.
Sherard, *Oscar Wilde.* 356.
Sillon, Le, Marc Sangnier. *Esprit et Méthodes*, 1905. 263 f.
Smith, W. B. 441, 446.
Soury, J., *Jesus.* 388 f., 416.
Spencer, H. 9, 16, 91, 301.
Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, [2] 1901. 417 f.
Stephen, L. 196 f.
Stirner, M., *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, 1845. 300.
Strauss, *Life of Jesus*, quoted from Eng. trans. 46, 77-89, 102, 104, 105, 149, 166-70, 183, 201, 210, 213, 223, 242 f., 254, 290, 300 f., 307, 373.
Sturt, H. 390-93.
Sudermann, *Johannes.* 1898. 421.

Tolstoi. 7, 182, 276, 279, 344-53, 396, 421.
Traub. 407.
Tschirn. 201 f.
Tyrrell, G. 369 f.

Underhill, Miss E. 418 f.

Venturini. 45.
Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Edition Lefèvre, vols. 41, 43, 46). 10, 16, 37-38, 166 f.

Wagner, C. 7.
Wagner, R. 29, 228, 230-38, 276, 280, 288-91, 294, 297 f., 308 f., 325 f., 348 f., 375.
Ward, Mrs. H. 13, 199 f.
Ward, J., *Pluralism and Theism*, 1912. 11, 21.
Weiser, *Jesus.* 424 f.
Weiss, B., *Das Leben Jesu*, 1882. 2 Bde. Several editions. 97.
Weiss, J., *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 1891, [2] 1900. 103. *Christus.*
Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church* (Eng. trans.). 105.
Wellhausen, *History of Israel* (4th German ed. 1901). *Das Evangelium Marci*, 1903. *Das Evangelium Mathaei*, 1904. *Evangelium Lucae*, 1904. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1905. 109 f., 410 f.

Wells, H. G. 381–85.
Wernle. 106.
Wilde, Oscar, *De Profundis*. 353–56.
Winch, W., *Die Lösung der Abendmahlsfrage*, 1903. *War Jesus ein Nasiräer?* 1904. *Mein Christusbild*, 1905, [2] 1906. 299.
Woltmann, *Pilgerfahrt*, Solingen, 1900. *Die Stellung der Sozialdemokratie zur Religion*, 1901. 251, 253.
Wordsworth. 7.
Wrede, W., *Das Messiahgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901. 106, 410 f.

Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, [3] 1906. 97 f.
Zeller. 104.

Printed by Morrison & Gibb Limited, *Edinburgh*

D 10

DATE DUE

BT
198
.W45

41,580

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

United Theological Seminary Library
MAIN BT198.W45
Weinel, Heinr Jesus in the nineteenth ce
3 0645 0004 1059 3